HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. XII.

Strahan and Preston, Printers-Street, London.

for releasince

Nat to be taken out

THE

HISTORY



OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

A NEW EDITION.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. XII.

LONDON:

Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies; F. C. and J. Rivington; Wilkie and Robinfon; J. Walker; R. Lea; J. Cuthell; Clarke and Sons; J. Nunn; C. Law; White and Cochrane; Longman, Hurft, Rees, Orme, and Brown; John Richardfon; J. M. Richardfon; E. Jeffery; B. Crofby and Co.; J. and A. Arch; Black and Parry; S. Bagfler; R. Floyer; W. Stewart; J. Hatchard; W. Ginger; J. Mawman; R. Scholey; R. Baldwin; J. Afperne; J. Blacklock; T. Hamilton; J. Faulder; Craddock and Joy; Gale, Curtis, and Fenner; J. Bebn; J. Ebers; John Miller; and R. Saunders.

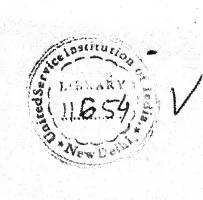


TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

TWELFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LXV.

Elevation of Timour or Tamerlane to the Throne of Samarcand.

— His Conquests in Persia, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia — His Turkish War. — Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet. — Death of Timour. — Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet. — Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the First. — Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second.

À.D.		Page
HISTORIES of TIMOUR, or Tamerlane		1
1361—1370. His first Adventures		4.
1370. He ascends the Throne of Zagatai	-	7
1370-1400. His Conquests		ib.
1380—1393. I. Of Persia		ib.
1370-1383. II. Of Turkestan -		9
1390—1396. Of Kipzak, Russia, &c	-	10
1398, 1399. III. Of Hindostan		13
1400. His War against Sultan Bajazet	- 1	16
Timour invades Syria	_ =	20
Sacks Aleppo	-	91
1401. Damascus	_	23
And Bagdad	-	24
1402. Invades Anatolia		25
A 3	I	Battle

CONTENTS.

A.D.	Page
Battle of Angora	26
Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet	28
The Story of his Iron Cage disproved by the	-
Perfian Historian of Timour	30
Attested, 1. by the French	32
, 2. by the Italians	33
, 3. by the Arabs	34
-, 4. by the Greeks -	35
, 5. by the Turks	ib.
Probable Conclusion	ib.
1403. Death of Bajazet	36
Term of the Conquests of Timour	ib.
1404, 1405. His Triumph at Samarcand	40
1405. His Death on the Road to China	42
Character and Merits of Timour	ib.
1403—1421. Civil Wars of the Sons of Bajazet	47
ı. Muftapha	ib.
2. Iía	48
1403—1410. 3. Soliman	-
Little Are e	49 ib.
1413-1421. 5. Mahomet I.	50
1421-1451. Reign of Amurath II.	5 I
Transfer Cat Out	ib.
TADA-TAGE State of the Creek Emmine	
TAGO Sigms of Configurationals L. A I TT	53 56
TARE TAR The Empoyen John Dalastan II	-
Liam diame Comment 1 Mr. 1 C 1	57 ib.
Tanada and Difficulture Cate to a	58
Tamana 1 TTC C C	62

CHAP. LXVI.

Application of the Eastern Emperors to the Popes. — Visits to the West, of John the First, Manuel, and John the Second, Palaologus. — Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, promoted by the Council of Basil, and concluded at Ferrara and Florence. — State of Literature at Constantinople. — Its Revival in Italy by the Greek Fugitives. — Curiosity and Emulation of the Latins.

A.D.	7	Page
1339. Embassy of the Younger Andronicus to Pope		
Benedict XII.	-	65
The Arguments for a Crusade and Union	-	66
1348. Negotiation of Cantacuzene with Clement VI.		6 9
1355. Treaty of John Palæologus I. with Innocent V.	[.	72
1369. Visit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rom	e	74
1370. His Return to Constantinople		77
Visit of the Emperor Manuel	-	ib.
1400. To the Court of France	-	78
Of England		80
1402. His Return to Greece	-	81
Greek Knowledge and Descriptions -	_	ib.
Of Germany	_	82
Of France		83
Of England	_	84
1402-1417. Indifference of Manuel towards the Lati	ns	86
1417—1425. His Negociations -		87
His private Motives	_	88
His Death	_	89
1425-1437. Zeal of John Palæologus II.	_	90
Corruption of the Latin Church	_	gr
1377—1429. Schifm -	_	92
1409. Council of Pifa	_	ib.
1414—1418. Of Constance	_	ib.
1431—1443. Of Bafil	_	
Their Opposition to Eugenius IV.	-	93 ib.
1434—1437. Negociations with the Greeks		
1437. John Palæologus embarks in the Pope's Gallies	3	94
	.0	95
** *	38.	His

CONTENTS.

A D.		Page
438. His triumphal Entry at Venice -	`	100
into Ferrara -	-	101
1438, 1439. Council of the Greeks and Latins at	Ferrara	ı
and Florence		103
Negociations with the Greeks -	-	108
1438. Eugenius deposed at Basil	-	111
Re-union of the Greeks at Florence -		ib.
1440. Their Return to Constantinople -	- 2	113
1449. Final Peace of the Church	-	114
1300-1453. State of the Greek Language at C	onstan-	
tinople	-	ib.
Comparison of the Greeks and Latins	-	116
Revival of the Greek Learning in Italy	-	119
1339. Leffons of Barlaam	-	120
1339—1374. Studies of Petrarch	-	121
1360. Of Boccace	_	123
1360—1363. Leo Pilatus, first Greek Professor	at Flo-	
rence, and in the West -	-	124
1390-1415. Foundation of the Greek Language	ge in Ita	ly
by Manuel Chryfoloras		126
1400—1500. The Greeks in Italy	-	128
Cardinal Baffarion, &c.	-	129
Their Faults and Merits	-	130
The Platonic Philosophy	-	132
Emulation and Progress of the Latins	-	134
1447—1455. Nicholas V.		ib•
1428-1492. Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis	-	135
Use and Abuse of ancient Learning		138

CHAP. LXVII.

Schism	of the	Greeks	and	Latins	× ×	Reign	and	d Chai	ra&er	of
Amu	rath th	e Second.	— C	rusade	of	Ladi/	laus	King	of H	un-
gary	. — His	Defeat	and	Death.	-	John	Hun	iades.	Sc	an-
derbe	$g \cdot - C$	onstantin	e Pai	eologus.	laf	? Emp	eror	of the	Eaft.	

A D.		Page
Comparison of Rome and Constantinople	-	141
1440-1448. The Greek Schism after the Council	l of	
Florence	•	145
Zeal of the Orientals and Russians -	-	148
1421-1451. Reign and Character of Amurath II.		150
1442—1444. His double Abdication -	-	152
1443. Eugenius forms a League against the Turks		154
Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary, ma	rches	
against them		157
The Turkish Peace	-	158
1444. Violation of the Peace	-	ib.
Battle of Warna	-	161
Death of Ladislaus		163
The Cardinal Julian		164
John Corvinus Huniades	-	165
1456. His Defence of Belgrade, and Death	-	167
1404-1413. Birth and Education of Scanderbeg, 1	Prince	-
of Albania		168
1443. His Revolt from the Turks	-	171
His Valour		172
1467. And Death		174
1448-1453. Conftantine, the last of the Roman or	Greel	K.
Emperors -	-	175
1450—1452. Embassies of Phranza	-	177
State of the Byzantine Court	-	180

CHAP. LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second. — Siege, Assault, and final Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks. — Death of Constantine Palæologus. — Servitude of the Greeks. — Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East. — Consternation of Europe. — Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

J 212 and med 11	o Deconu.
A.D.	
Character of Mahomet II.	Pa
1451—1481. His Reign	- 18
1451. Hostile Intentions of Mahomet	- 18
1452. He builde a Fortract	- 18
1452. He builds a Fortress on the Bosphorus The Turkish War	- 19
1452. 1452. Preparations for all G	- 19
1452, 1453. Preparations for the Siege of Confl. The great Cannon of Mahomet	antinople 19
1452. Mahamet II form all a	- 19
1453. Mahomet II. forms the Siege of Constant Forces of the Turks	inople 20
of the Greeks	- 20:
	- 20
1452. Falfe Union of the Two Churches	- 20
Obstinacy and Fanaticism of the Greeks	- 200
1453. Siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Attack and Defence	209
	212
Succour and Victory of four Ships	- 214
Mahomet transports his Navy over Land	- 219
Diffres of the City	
Preparations of the Turks for the general A	ffault 222
Late Talewel of the Emperor and the Gree	ks 224
The general Allault	
Death of the Emperor Conftantine Palæolo	gus 231
Lois of the City and Empire	J-
The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople	232
Captivity of the Greeks	
Amount of the Spoil	- 233 - 236
Mahomet II. vifits the City, St. Sophia, t	- 236 he
His Behaviour to the Greeks	- 239
He re-peoples and adorns Conftantinople	- 241
14	- 243
-7	Restin Ci

A.D.							Page
	Extinction of the Imperial	Fa	mil	ies of	f Con	ınenus	
	and Palæologus	 .			-	-	246
1460.	Loss of the Morea	_		1	-	-	248
1461.	- of Trebizond	•			-	-	249
1453.	Grief and Terror of Europ	е				• • • •	251
1481.	Death of Mahomet II.		-			•	254

CHAP. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. — Temporal Dominion of the Popes. — Seditions of the City. — Political Herefy of Arnold of Brescia. — Restoration of the Republic. — The Senators. — Pride of the Romans. — Their Wars. — They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes who retire to Avignon. — The Jubilee. — Noble Families of Rome. — Feud of the Colonna and Ursini.

A. D.		Page
1100-1500. State and Revolutions of Rome		256
800-1100. The French and German Emper-	ors of	
Rome	1 - 1	258
Authority of the Popes in Rome -	-	260
From Affection -		ib.
Right	-	261
— Virtue	100	ib.
Benefits		262
Inconftancy of Superstition -	_	263
Seditions of Rome against the Popes	/ -	264
1086—1305. Successors of Gregory VII.	-	266
1099—1118. Paschal II.		267
1118, 1119. Gelafius II.		ib.
1144, 1145. Lucius II	-	269
1181-1185. Lucius III		ib.
1119—1124. Calistus II	_	ib.
1130-1143. Innocent II		ib.
Character of the Romans by St. Bernard		270
1140. Political Herefy of Arnold of Brefcia		271
		144-
	-	-11

CONTENTS.

A.D.		Page
1144	-1154. He exhorts the Romans to restore the	-
-)	Republic	274
1155.	His Execution	276
1144.	Restoration of the Senate	277
	The Capitol	280
	The Coin	281
	The Præfect of the City	282
	Number and Choice of the Senate	283
	The Office of Senator	285
1252-	-1258. Bran caleone	286
1265-	-1278. Charles of Anjou	288
1281.	Pope Martin IV.	289
1328.	The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria	ib.
	Addresses of Rome to the Emperors -	290
1144.	Conrad III.	ib.
1155.	Frederic I.	291
	Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring Citie	s 296
1167.	Battle of Tufculum	298
1234.	of Viterbo	299
	The Election of the Popes	ib.
1179.	Right of the Cardinals established by Alexander III	. 300
	Institution of the Conclave by Gregory X.	301
-	Absence of the Popes from Rome	304
1204-	-1303. Boniface VIII	305
	Translation of the Holy See to Avignon	307
	Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year	310
	The Second Jubilee	312
	The Nobles or Barons of Rome	313
1.	Family of Leo the Jew	315
	The Colonna	316
	And Urfini	320
	Their hereditary Feuds	322

CHAP. LXX.

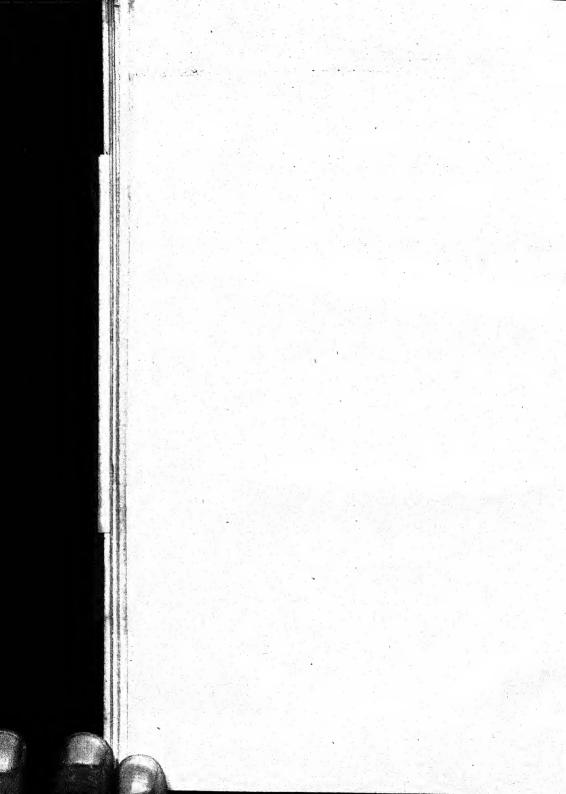
Character and Coronation of Petrarch.—Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi.—His Virtues and Vices, his Empulsion and Death.—Return of the Popes from Avignon.—Great Schism of the West.—Re-union of the Latin Church.—Last Struggles of Roman Liberty.—Statutes of Rome.—Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

A.D.					Page
I 304-	-1374. Petrarch				324
1344	His poetic Coronation a	t Rome		121	328
	Birth, Character, and pa	atriotic D	efigns of F	Lienzi	33 I
1347.	He affumes the Government	nent of Re	ome	-	334
	With the Title and Office	e of Trib	une		336
	Laws of the Good Estat	e.e		-	ib.
	Freedom and Prosperity	of the R	oman Repu	ablic	339
	The Tribune is respected	in Italy,	&c.	-	342
	And celebrated by Petra	rch	4	4	343
	His Vices and Follies	-	-	-	344
	The Pomp of his Knight	thood	-	- 1	346
	And Coronation	4		- :	348
	Fear and Hatred of the	Nobles of	Rome	- 3	349
	They oppose Rienzi in .	Arms	-	-	35Î
	Defeat and Death of the	7 20 10 10 10		•	352
	Fall and Flight of the T		ienzi	200	354
1347	-1354. Revolutions of F	Rome	- /	-	356
	Adventures of Rienzi	-	-	-	357
	. A Prisoner at Avignon				358
1354	. Rienzi, Senator of Ron	ne	*	-	359
	His Death -	•	-		362
1355	. Petrarch invites and upb				
	He folicits the Popes o	f Avignor	n to fix the	ir Re-	
	fidence at Rome			. 7,	363
	-1370. Return of Urba		+		365
	. Final Return of Gregor	y XI.			ib.
1378	3. His Death -		•		367
		3		El	ection

CONTENTS.

A.D.		Page
Election of Urban VI.	-	368
Election of Clement VII.	-	ib.
1378—1418. Great Schism of the West -	· -	371
Calamities of Rome	- ,	ib.
1392-1407. Negotiations for Peace and Union	-	372
1409. Council of Pisa -	-	375
1414—1418. Council of Conftance -	-	ib.
Election of Martin V.	•	377
1417. Martin V	-	378
1431. Eugenius IV.	-	ib.
1447. Nicholas V	-	ib.
1434. Last Revolt of Rome	-	ib.
1452. Last Coronation of a German Emperor, Frede	ric II]	. 370
The Statutes and Government of Rome	-	380
1453. Conspiracy of Porcaro	•	383
Last Disorders of the Nobles of Rome	-	386
1500 The Popes acquire the absolute Dominion of	Rome	387
The Ecclefiaftical Government	-	391
1585—1590. Sixtus V.		392
CHAP. LXXI.		
Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Centur	ry. —	Four
Causes of Decan and Definition E		4 041
Causes of Decay and Destruction Examp	le of	the
Colifeum - Renovation of the City Conclusion	le of of the a	the
Coliferm — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work.	le of of the a	the
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work.	le of of the a	the whole
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A. D.	of the	the whole Page
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A. D. 1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Cap	of the	the whole Page
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A. D. 1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Cap Hill	of the	the whole Page
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A. D. 1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Description of the Ruins	of the	the whole Page 395 397
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A. D. 1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Description of the Ruins Gradual Decay of Rome	of the	the whole Page 395 397 398
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A D. 1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Description of the Ruins Gradual Decay of Rome Four Causes of Destruction	of the	the whole Page 395 397 398 400
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A D. 1430. View and Discourse of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Description of the Ruins Gradual Decay of Rome Four Causes of Destruction I. The Injuries of Nature	of the	the whole Page 395 397 398 400 ib.
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A D. 1430. View and Difcourfe of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Defcription of the Ruins Gradual Decay of Rome Four Caufes of Destruction I. The Injuries of Nature Hurricanes and Earthquakes	of the	the whole Page 395 397 398 400 ib. 401
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A D. 1430. View and Difcourfe of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Defcription of the Ruins Gradual Decay of Rome Four Caufes of Deftruction I. The Injuries of Nature Hurricanes and Earthquakes Fires	of the	the whole Page 395 397 398 400 ib. 401 ib.
Colifeum — Renovation of the City. — Conclusion of Work. A D. 1430. View and Difcourfe of Poggius from the Cap Hill His Defcription of the Ruins Gradual Decay of Rome Four Caufes of Destruction I. The Injuries of Nature Hurricanes and Earthquakes	of the a	the whole Page 395 397 398 400 ib. 401

4. D.			Page
	II. The hoftile Attacks of the Barbarian	ns and	
	Christians	_	405
	III. The Use and Abuse of the Materials		408
	IV. The Domestic Quarrels of the Romans		413
	The Colifeum or Amphitheatre of Titus		418
	Games of Rome	-	420
382.	A Bull-Feast in the Colifeum	•	421
	Injuries		423
	And Confecration of the Colifeum	_	425
	Ignorance and Barbarism of the Romans	·	ib.
420.	Restoration and Ornaments of the City		428
	Final Conclusion		421



102.12-

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL



OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. LXV.

Elevation of Timour, or Tamerlane, to the Throne of Samarcand.—His Conquests in Perha, Georgia, Tartary, Russia, India, Syria, and Anatolia. - His Turkish War. - Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet.—Death of Timour.—Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet. -Restoration of the Turkish Monarchy by Mahomet the First.—Siege of Constantinople by Amurath the Second.

THE conquest and monarchy of the world CHAP was the first object of the ambition of LXV. TIMOUR. To live in the memory and efteem of Histories of future ages, was the fecond wish of his magna- TMOUR, nimous spirit. All the civil and military trans- or Tameractions of his reign were diligently recorded in VOL. XIL

CHAP. the journals of his fecretaries: the authentic narrative was revifed by the perfons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himself composed the commentaries? of his life, and the institutions of his government. But these cares were ineffectual for the preservation of his same, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or at least from the knowledge of Europe. The nations

¹ These journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who composed in the Persian language a history of Timour Beg, which has been translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12mo.) and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be trusted for public facts, though he servilely praises the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be seen in the Institutions, p. 215. 217. 349. 351.

² These Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe, but Mr. White gives some hope that they may be imported and translated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the East this "minute and faithful "narrative of an interesting and eventful period."

³ I am ignorant whether the original inflitution, in the Turkish or Mogul language, be fill extant. The Persic version, with an English translation and most valuable index, was published (Oxford, 1783, in 4to.) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic professor. This work has been since translated from the Persic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langles, a learned Orientalish, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

+ Shaw Allum, the present Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the inflitutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence; but if any suspicions should arise of fraud and siction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the patronage of a prince, less honourable perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookseller; nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Persian, the real author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.

which

which he vanquished exercised a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny, which had dissigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of Tamerlane. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeafible fuccession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlass: his sifth ancestor, Carashar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and in the ascent of some generations, the branch of Timour is consounded, at least by the semales, with the

^{&#}x27;The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much efteemed for its florid elegance of ftyle; Ahmedis Arabfiada (Ahmed Ebn Arabfiah) Vita et Rerum geftarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Francquera, 1763, 2 tons in 4to. This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy: the very title of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, &c. The copious article of TIMUR, in Bibliotheque Orientale, is of a mixed nature, as D'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877—888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the Lebtarikh.

⁶ Demir or Timour fignifies, in the Turkish language, Iron; and Beg is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into Lenc or Lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

⁷ After relating some false and foolish tales of Timour Lene, Arabshah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinsman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peevishly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. i. p. 252) The testimony of Abulghazi Khan (P. ii. c. 5. P. v. c. 4.) is clean unquestionable, and decisive.

CHAP. Imperial stems. He was born forty miles to the LXV., fouth of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thousand horse. His birth 10 was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Afiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence; and their domestic feuds could only be fuspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks", invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he flood forth as the deliverer of his country; and the eyes and wishes of the people were turned towards an hero who fuffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the

His first adventures, . A. D. 1361-1370.

> 8 According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the posterity of the elder should succeed to the dignity of khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their minister and general. This tradition was at least convenient to juffify the first fleps of Timour sambition (Institutions, p. 24, 25, from the MS. fragments of Timour's History).

See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's Geography (Chorafmiæ, &c. Descriptio, p. 60, 61.), in the iiid volume of Hudfon's

Minor Greek Geographers.

10 See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Differtat. tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson Ulugh Beg. He was born, A. D. 1336, April 9, 11° 57'. P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the furname of Saheb Keran, or mafter of the conjunctions (Bibliot. Orient. p. 878.).

" In the Institutions of Timour, these subjects of the khan of Kashgar are most improperly styled Ouzbegs, or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, P. v. c. s. P. vii. c. 5.). Could I be fure that this word is in the Turkish original, I would boldly pronounce that the Inftitutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, fince the establishment of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana.

army had pledged their falvation to support him CHAP. with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of LXV. danger they were filent and afraid; and, after waiting feven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the defert with only fixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible flaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune " and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was foon diminished by the defertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the defert with his wife, feven companions, and four horses; and fixty-two days was he plunged in a loathfome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage, and the remorfe of the oppressor. After swimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during fome months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame thone brighter in advertity; he learned to diftinguish the friends of his person, the affociates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all, for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was fuccessively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously sought him in the desert; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himfelf as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell " upon me," fays Timour, " they were over-" whelmed B 3

CHAP. " whelmed with joy; and they alighted from " their horses; and they came and kneeled; and " they kiffed my ftirrup. I also came down from " my horse, and took each of them in my arms. " And I put my turban on the head of the first " chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and " wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of " the fecond; and the third, I clothed in my own coat. And they wept, and I wept also; " and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we " prayed. And we mounted our horses, and " came to my dwelling; and I collected my " people, and made a feast." His trusty bands were foon encreafed by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against a superior foe; and after some viciflitudes of war, the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and fome blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose lifter was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels. exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy: and, after a fmall defeat, Houffein was flain by fome fagacious friends, who prefumed.

for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four 12, and in a

general

¹² The ift book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 3—77.), employed the himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 3—77.), employed the himself, and he himself, and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, p. 3—77.), employed the himself, and he himself,

general diet or couroultai, he was invested with CHAP. Imperial command, but he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and while the emir Timour He ascends reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal the throne khan ferved as a private officer in the armies of his fervant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have fatiffied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-feven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns; without describing the lines of march which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Asia; I shall briefly represent his conquests in, I. Persia, II. Tartary, and, III. India 13, and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

I. For every war, a motive of fafety or revenge, His conof honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the jurisprudence of conquerors. No fooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony or Zagatai the dependent coun- fia, tries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Perfia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extensive country was left without a lawful fovereign fince the death of Aboufaid, the last of the descend-

of Zagatai, A.D. 1370,

April.

quefts, A. D. 1370-I400. T. Of Per-A.D. 1380-1393.

larges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprises which most truly constitute his personal merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah, P. i. c. 1-12.

¹³ The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India, are represented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabihah, c. 13-55. Confult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.

CHAP. ants of the great Holacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might feem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they feparately flood, and fuccessively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of refistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kiffed the footftool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of filks, horfes, and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical spectator observed, that there were only eight flaves. "I myfelf am the " ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the fmile of Timour 14. Shah Manfour, prince of Fars, or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand foldiers, the coul or main-body of thirty thousand horse, where the Emperor fought in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the ftandard of Timour: he flood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a fcymetar 15: the Moguls rallied; the head of

¹⁴ The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of nine is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical Hiftory into nine parts.

¹⁵ According to Arabshah (P. i. c. 28. p. 183.), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Manfour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (I. iii. c. 25.) has magnified his courage.

Manfour was thrown at his feet; and he declared C H A P. his esteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of fo intrepid race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian gulf; and the richness and weakness of Ormuz 16 were displayed in an annual tribute of fix hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the feat of the caliphs: but the noblest conqueft of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious fucceffor. The whole courfe of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the fources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience: he entered Edeffa; and the Turkmans of the black sheep were chastised for the facrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Christians still braved the law and the fword of Mahomet: by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the gazie, or holy war; and the prince of Teffis became his profelyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the II. Of invasion of Turkestan, or the eastern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes; he passed the Sihoon,

Turkeftan, A.D. I370-I383.

16 The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was deftroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade, and the pearl fishery, possessed large territories both in Persia and Arabia; but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman, and at last were delivered (A. D. 1505) by the Portuguese tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l.i. c. 15, 16. fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda, Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Steven's History of Persia, p. 376-416. and the Itineraries inferted in the 1st volume of Ramusio, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167. of Andrea Corfali (1517), fol. 202, 203. and of Odoardo Barbessa (in 1616), fol. 315-318.).

fubdued

CHAP. fubdued the kingdom of Cashgar, and marched feven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months journey, or, four hundred and eighty leagues to the northeast of Samarcand; and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtish, engraved in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the western Tartary 17, was founded on the double motive of aiding the diffresfed, and chastifing the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court; the ambaffadors of Auruss Khan were difmiffed with an haughty denial, and followed on the same day by the armies of Zagatai; and their fuccess established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the north. But after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the facred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Perfia at the head of ninety thousand horse: with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circaffia, and Ruffia, he paffed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend OfKipzak, for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expoftulation and a glorious victory, the Emperor refolved on revenge: and by the east, and the west, of the Caspian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with fuch mighty powers, that

Ruffia, &c. A.D. 1390 -1396.

> ¹⁷ Arabshah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a singular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. i. c. 45 - 49.).

> > thirteen

thirteen miles were measured from his right to CHAP. his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subfiftence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the standardbearer, who, in the heat of action, reverfed the Imperial flandard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Toushi to the wind of desolation 18. He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital: and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might eafily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the refistance would have been feeble, fince the hopes of the Ruffians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the fouth, the defolate country was exhaufted, and the Mogul foldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of

precious

¹⁸ Inftitutions of Timour, p. 123-125. Mr. White, the editor, beftows fome animadversion on the superficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.

CHAP. precious furs, of linen of Antioch 19, and of ingots of gold and filver 20. On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the confuls and merchants of Egypt 21, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and Bifcay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trufted his royal word. But the peaceful vifits of an emir, who explored the flate of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive prefence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismiffed; but all the Christians, who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or flavery 22. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Aftrachan, the monuments of rifing civilization; and his vanity proclaimed,

¹⁹ The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous: and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

M. Levésque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 64-67. before the French version of the Institutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Russian annals is fufficient to prove that Moscow, which fix years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

An Egyptian conful from Grand Cairo, is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (Ramusio, tom. ii. fol. 92.).

²² The fack of Azoph is described by Sherefeddin (1.iii. c. 55.) and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Redufiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarvifiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom.xix. p. 802-205.). He had converfed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been fent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had loft at Azoph three fons and 12,000 ducats.

that he had penetrated to the region of perpe- CHAP. tual daylight, a strange phenomenon, which au- LXV. thorifed his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer 23.

III. When Timour first proposed to his princes III. Of and emirs the invafion of India or Hindoftan 24, Hindoftan, A.D. 1398,

he was answered by a murmur of discontent: "The rivers! and the mountains and deferts! " and the foldiers clad in armour! and the ele-" phants, destroyers of men!" But the displeafure of the Emperor was more dreadful than all these terrors; and his superior reason was convinced, that an enterprife of fuch tremendous aspect was safe and easy in the execution. He was informed by his spies of the weakness and anarchy of Hindostan: the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of Sultan Mahmood was defpifed even in the haram of Delhi. Mogul army moved in three great divisions: and Timour observes with pleasure, that the ninety-two fquadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus they croffed

²² Sherefeddin only fays (l.iii. c. 13.), that the rays of the fetting, and those of the rising fun, were scarcely separated by any interval; a problem which may be folved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis, and a long fummer twilight. But a day of forty days (Khondemir apud D'Herbelot, p. 880.) would rigoriously confine us within the polar circle.

²⁴ For the Indian war, fee the Institutions (p. 129 — 139.), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the history of Ferishta (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1-20.) which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindestan.

C H A P. one of the ridges of mountains, which are ftyled by the Arabian geographers The stony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were fubdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the Emperor himfelf was let down a precipice on a portable fcaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour croffed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the sootsteps of Alexander, the Punjab, or five rivers 25, that fall into the mafterstream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road measures no more than fix hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the fouth-east: and the motive of Timour was to join his grandfon, who had atchieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the defert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and flood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The fiege, more especially of the castle. might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the Sultan Mah. moud and his vizir to defcend into the plain.

²⁵ Therivers of the Punjab, the five eaftern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour. with

with ten thousand cuirassiers, forty thousand of CHAP. his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are faid to have been armed with fharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron fpikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to fmile at their own fears; and, as foon as thefe unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the flately mosch; but the order and licence of a general pillage and maffacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his foldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems. In this pious defign, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought feveral battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the flatue of the cow, that feems to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant among the mountains of Thibet 26. His return was along the **fkirts**

²⁵ The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rife in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet so capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been

CHAP. Ikirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange fore-fight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of

Hindoos.

His war against Sultan Bajazet, A. D.

Sept. I.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his fpeedy messengers, of the diffurbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Chriftians, and the ambitious defigns of the Sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by fixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Afia 27. To the foldiers who had ferved in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home, or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Perfia were commanded to affemble at Ispahan, and wait the arrival of the Imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia. who were ftrong only in their rocks, their caftles. and the winter feafon; but thefe obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour: the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran: and if both religions boafted of their martyrs. that name is more justly due to the Christian

the theme of ancient and modern flory. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory, must be situate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1774, a British camp! (Rennel's Memoir, p. 7.59.90, 91.99.)

²⁷ See the Infitutions, p. 141. to the end of the 1st book, and Shere-feddin (l. v. c. 1—16. to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

prisoners, who were offered the choice of ab- CHAP. juration or death. On his descent from the hills, the Emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hoftile correspondence of complaints and menaces; which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will feldom be wanting. Mogul and Ottoman conquefts now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vaffals; and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably purfued. The refemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior. The first epiftle 28 of the Mogul Emperor must have provoked, instead of reconciling the Turkish sultan: whose family and nation he affected to despise20.

" Dof

²⁸ We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the Institutions (p. 147.) in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 19. p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the spirit and substance rather than in the style. It is probable, that they have been translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues.

²⁹ The Mogul emir diffinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and fligmatises the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. Yet I do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman sailor;

CHAP. " Dost thou not know, that the greatest part of " Afia is subject to our arms and our laws? that " our invincible forces extend from one fea to "the other? that the potentates of the earth " form a line before our gate? and that we have " compelled fortune herfelf to watch over the " prosperity of our empire? What is the founda-"tion of thy infolence and folly? Thou haft " fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained " fome victories over the Christians of Europe; "thy fword was bleffed by the apostle of God; " and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, " in waging war against the infidels, is the fole confideration that prevents us from destroying " thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the "Moslem world. Be wise in time; reslect; repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, "which is yet suspended over thy head. " art no more than a pifmire; why wilt thou feek "to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will "trample thee under their feet." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a foul which was deeply ftung by fuch unufual contempt. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the defert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boafted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumer-" able: be they fo; but what are the arrows of

> those inland shepherds were so remote from the sea, and all maritime affairs.

"the flying Tartar against the scymetars and C HAP. " battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? "I will guard the princes who have implored my " protection: feek them in my tents. The cities " of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine; and " unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand "the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sul-"tania." The ungovernable rage of the Sultan at length betrayed him to an infult of a more domestic kind. "If I fly from my arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my " bed: but if thou hast not courage to meet me " in the field, mayeft thou again receive thy wives " after they have thrice endured the embraces of " a ftranger 30." Any violation by word or deed of the fecrecy of the Haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations31; and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and perfonal refentment. Yet in his first expedition, Timour was satisfied with the fiege and destruction of Siwas or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indifcretion of the Ottoman, on a

³⁰ According to the Koran (c. ii. p. 27. and Sale's Discourses, p. 134.) a Musulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce) could not take her again, till after she had been married to, and repudiated by, another husband; an ignominious transaction, which it is needless to aggravate, by supposing, that the first husband must see her enjoyed by a second before his face (Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, 1. ii. c. 21.).

³¹ The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never fpeaking of their women, is afcribed in a much higher degree by Arabíhah to the Turkish nations; and it is remarkable enough that Chalcondyles (1.11-p. 55.) had some knowledge of the prejudice and the insult.

CHAP. garrifon of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Musulman he seemed to refpect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople: and after this falutary leffon, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invafion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is flyled the Kaissar of Roum, the Cæsar of the Romans: a title which, by a small anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine 32.

Timour invades Syria, A.D. 1400.

> The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria: but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circaffians 33; and their favourite Barkok, from a flave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midft of rebellion and discord. he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambaffadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his fon Farage. The Syrian emirs 34 were

³² For the ftyle of the Moguls, see the Institutions (p. 131. 147.), and for the Persians, the Bibliotheque Orientale (p. 882.): but I do not find that the title of Cæsar has been applied by the Arabians, or assumed by the Ottomans themselves.

³³ See the reigns of Barkok and Pharadge, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. l. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahasen, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added some facts to our common stock of materials.

³⁴ For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabshah, though a partial, is a credible witness (tom. i. c. 64-68, tom. ii. c. 1-14.). Timour

were affembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: CHAP. they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their fwords and lances of the pureft steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of fixty thousand villages: and instead of fustaining a fiege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and fome powerful emirs had been feduced to defert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the difmay and diforder; the Syrian crouds fell back on each other; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great ftreet; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and, after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was furrendered by cowardice and treachery. Among the Sacks fuppliants and captives, Timour diftinguished the Aleppo, doctors of the law, whom he invited to the Nov. II: dangerous honour of a personal conference 35 .--The Mogul prince was a zealous Musulman; but his Perfian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hosain; and he had imbibed

Timour must have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in some measure, to respect his enemy and himself. His bitters may correct the luscious sweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. 17-29.).

35 These interesting conversations appear to have been copied by Arabshah (tom. i. c. 68. p. 625-645.) from the cadhi and historian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive feventy. sive years afterwards (D'Herbelot, p. 792.)?

a deep

chap. a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the son of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of resolving. "Who are the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies?" But he was silenced, or satisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party, who sight only for the

glory of God, may deferve that facred appellation. The true fuccession of the Caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the Emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as salse as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an

" usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent

explanation reftored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation,

"What is you age?" faid he to the cadhi. "Fifty years."—"It would be the age of my

"eldeft fon: you fee me here (continued Ti-

"mour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet

"by my arm has the Almighty been pleafed to fubdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and

"the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and

God is my witness, that in all my wars I have

" never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own

" calamity." During this peaceful conversation,

the

the streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and C H A P. re-echoed with the cries of mothers and chil- LXV. dren, with the shrieks of violated virgins. rich plunder that was abandoned to his foldiers might stimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his cuftom, were curioufly piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feaft of victory, while the furviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his diffress and despair: one of his nephews deferted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the Sultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls; and Timour confented to raife the fiege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ranfom; each article of nine pieces. fooner had he introduced himself into the city. under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of Damaseus, ten millions of gold; and animated his troops A.D. 1461. to chastife the posterity of those Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandfon of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hofein,

CHAP. and a colony of artificers, whom he fent to labour at Samarcand, were alone referved in the general massacre; and after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The loffes and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were defirous to vifit the tomb of his fon. I have expatiated on the perfonal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention 36, that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads: again vifited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his refolution of marching against the Ottoman Emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military lift 37;

and Bagdad, A.D. 1401. July 23.

³⁶ The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are represented by Sherefeddin (1. v. c. 29-43.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 15-18.).

³⁷ This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.); and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek hiftorian (Phranza, l.i. c. 29.) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tarvifianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800.) 1,100,000; and the enormous fum of 1,600,000 is attested by a German foldier, who was present at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcondyl. 1. iii. p.82.). Timour, in his Inflitutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his fubjects, or his revenues.

but the splendid commands of five, and ten, CHAP. thousand horse, may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective foldiers 38. pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches: but the delivery of their pay and arrears for feven years, more firmly attached them to the imperial standard.

Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for Anatolia, A.D. 1402. a more ferious encounter. They confifted of four hundred thousand horse and foot 30, whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries who have been gradually raifed to an establishment of forty thousand men: a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuiraffiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had affigned a fettlement in the plains of Adrianople.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Invades

The fearless confidence of the Sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his

³⁸ A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289.).

³⁹ Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 253.), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (l.i. c. 29.), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous,

CHAP. banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the mean while, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldnefs was fecured by the wifeft precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline: and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying fquadrons, who marked his road and preceded his flandard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dextroufly inclined to the left; occupied Cæsarea; traversed the salt desert and the river Halys; and invefted Angora: while the Sultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a fnail 40; he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalifed the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this fignal victory, the Mogul Emperor was indebted to himfelf, to the genius of the moment, and the difcipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation 41, whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous

Battle of Angora, A.D. 1402, July 28.

41 See the Systems of Tactics in the Institutions, which the English editors have illustrated with elaborate plans (p. 373-407.).

cavalry,

⁴º It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journies of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles; to Smyrna xx. to Kiotahia x. to Bourfa x. to Cæfarea viii. to Sinope x. to Nicomedia ix. to Constantinople xii. or xiii. (see Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xxi.).

cavalry. From a fingle troop to a great army, CHAP. the mode of attack was the fame; a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings fuccessively moved forwards in their feveral divisions, and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unfuccefsful, the occasion was worthy of the Emperor himself, who gave the fignal of advancing to the flandard and main body, which he led in person 42. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks, and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the fons and grandfons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan oftentatiously shewed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory: the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day 43. In that day,

⁴² The Sultan himself (fays Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the Institutes (p. 156, 157.).

Bajazet

⁴³ The Greek fire, on Timour's fide, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's strange suspicion, that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Dehli, is resuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

CHAP. Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a LXV. chief: but his genius funk under a stronger afcendant; and from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decifive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his fon Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emiffaries of Timour 44; who reproached their ignoble fervitude under the flaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuiraffiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irrefiftible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit: and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate Sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was tranfported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was purfued and taken by the titular Khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia

Defeat and captivity of Bajazet.

> 44 Timour has diffembled this fecret and important negociation with the Tartars, which is indisputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47. p. 391.), Turkish (Annal. Leunciav. p. 321.), and Persian historians (Khondemir, apud D'Herbelot, p. 882.).

> > **fubmitted**

fubmitted to the conqueror, who planted his CHAP. flandard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldeft and best beloved of his grandfons, was dispatched to Boursa, with thirty thousand horse: and such was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course: and Soliman, the fon of Bajazet, had already paffed over to Europe with the royal treasure. spoil, however, of the palace and city was immenfe: the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Bourfa, the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city; and the Mogul fquadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions: and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deferved the presence of the Emperor himself. After and obstinate defence, the place was taken by fform; all that breathed was put to the fword; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven

CHAP. years the fiege, or at leaft the blockade, of LXV. Bajazet 45.

Thehistory of his iron cage

The iron cage in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, fo long and fo often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who finile at the vulgar credulity 45. They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiofity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction. No fooner was Timour informed that the captive

disproved by the Perfian hiftorian of Timour;

Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than he graciously stept forwards to receive him, seated him by his fide, and mingled with just reproaches a foothing pity for his rank and misfortune. " Alas!" faid the Emperor, "the decree of fate " is now accomplished by your own fault: it is 46 the web which you have woven, the thorns " of the tree which yourfelf have planted. I " wished to spare, and even to assist, the cham-" pion of the Moslems: you braved our threats; " you despised our friendship; you forced us to " enter your kingdom with our invincible armies.

"Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am

46 The scepticism of Voltaire (Essai fur l'Histoire Generale, c. 88.) is ready on this, as on every occasion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on most occasions his

incredulity is reasonable.

⁴⁵ For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add some hints in the Institutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44-65.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 20-35.). On this part only of Timour's history, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 53-55. Annal. Leunclav. p. 320-322.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15-17. Chalcondyles, I. iii.).

of not ignorant of the fate which you referved for CHAP. " myfelf and my troops. But I disdain to re-" taliate: your life and honour are fecure; and "I shall express my gratitude to God by my " clemency to man." The royal captive shewed fome figns of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his fon Mousa, who, at his request, was fought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a fplendid pavilion; and the respect of the guards could be furpaffed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Bourfa, Timour restored the Queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband; but he piously required that the Servian princess, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul Emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promife was disappointed by the Sultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after The victor dropped a tear over his his defeat. grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the maufoleum which he had erected at Bourfa; and his fon Moufa, after receiving a rich prefent of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invefted

CHAP. vested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his fon and grandfon, nineteen years after his decease 47; and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Perfian histories 48; yet flattery, more especially in the East, is base and audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, fome of whom shall be produced in the order of attessed, I. their time and country. I. The reader has not forgot the garrifon of French, whom the Marthal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adversary; and it is more than probable that fome of them accompanied the Greek embaffy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the hardships of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by

by the French;

the Marshal's servant and historian, within the

diftance

⁴⁷ See the Hiftory of Sherefeddin (I.v. c. 49. 52, 53. 59, 60.). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim, the fon of Sharokh, the fon of Timour, who reigned in Farfiftan in his father's lifetime.

⁴⁸ After the perufal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, &c. the learned D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 882.) may affirm, that this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories; but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah, leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

distance of seven years 49. 2. The name of Poggius C HAP. the Italian 50, is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His 2, by the elegant dialogue on the viciflitudes of fortune 51 Italians; was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane 52; whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illuftrious Barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and discipline, Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses; nor does he forget an example fo apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beaft in an iron cage, and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe

⁴⁹ Et fut lui meme (Bajazet) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle mourut de dure mort ! Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 37. These memoirs were composed while the marshal was still governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409, by a popular infurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 473, 474.).

⁵⁰ The reader will find a fatisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305—308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

⁵¹ The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1723, in 4to.), was composed a short time before the death of Pope Martin V. (p. 5.), and confequently about the end of the year 1430.

⁵² See a splendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. 36-39. ipse enim novi (says Poggius) qui fuere in ejus castris Regem vivum cepit, caveaque in modum feræ inclusum per omnem Afiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortunæ.

Arabs;

CHAP. with the first tidings of the revolution 53. the time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journies over Turkey and Tartary 54. Without any poffible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewife relates another outrage which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indifcreet mention of women and divorces, was deeply refented by the jealous Tartar: in the feaft of victory, the wine was ferved by female cupbearers, and the Sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the flaves, and exposed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said, that his fucceffors, except in a fingle instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the fixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbeguius55, ambassador from the court of Vienna

⁵³ The Chronicon Tarvifianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italiearum, tom. xix. p. 800.), and the Annales Eftenses (tom. xviii. p. 974.). The two authors, Andrea de Redufiis de Quero, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive.

⁵⁴ See Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

⁵⁵ Busbequius in Legatione Turcicâ, epist. i. p. 52. Yet his refpectable authority is fomewhat shaken by the subsequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Afiatic, princess (Cantemir, p. 83. 93.).

to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation C H A P. of language, that the testimony of a Greek is not LXV. less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. 4. by the I suppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, Greeks; who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza 56, protovestiare of the last emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was fent ambaffador to Amurath the Second; and the historian might converse with fome veteran janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the fultan, and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in 5. by the every fense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been confulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir 57. They unanimoully deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot fligmatize the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

From these opposite premises, a fair and mode- Probable rate conclusion may be deduced. I am fatisfied conclusion. that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first oftentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonized by success, affected the character of generofity. But his mind was infenfibly alienated by the unfeafonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his ene-

⁵⁶ See the testimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.). Chalcondyles and Ducas fpeak in general terms of Bajazet's chains.

⁵¹ Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock, Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag. Dynast. Cantemir, p 55.

CHAP. mies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement: and Timour betrayed a defign of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul Emperor to impose a harsher restraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton infult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous hiftory a fimilar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to reprefent the person, and expiate the guilt of the Roman Cæfar 58. But the strength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead; a tear and a fepulchre were all that he could beflow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and if Monsa, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Boursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful fovereigns.

Term of the conquests of Timour,

A.D. 1403.

Death of Bajazet,

A.D.1403,

March 9.

From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damafcus and the Archipelago, Afia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was bound-

58 A Sapor, king of Persia, had been made prisoner, and inclosed in the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Galerius Cæfar. Such is the fable related by Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421. verf. Pocock). The recollection of the true history (Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. p. 144-156.) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

less, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and CHAP. convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow, fea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia 59; and the lord of fo many tomans, or myriads, of horse, was not mafter of a fingle galley. The two paffages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double streights were guarded with ships and fortifications; and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and fuppliant embaffies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the fon of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himfelf; accepted, by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the fword; and reiterated his ardent wish, of casting himself in person at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek

⁵⁹ Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25.) describes, like a curious traveller, the streights of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 99.).

C HAP. Emperor (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the fame tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratisfied the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience as soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new defign of vast and romantic compass; a defign of fubduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Streights of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deferts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the ful mission of the sultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin, attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a giraffe, or camelopard, and nine offriches, reprefented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less aftonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp, before Smyrna, meditates, and almost accomplishes, the invasion of the Chinese empire or. Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Musulman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the in-

61 See Sherefeddin, l.v. c. 4., who marks, in a just itinerary, the road to China, which Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 33.) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.

fidels;

⁶⁰ Since the name of Cæfar had been transferred to the fultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54.) were confounded with the Christian lords of Gallipoli, Thessalonica, &c. under the title of Tekkur, which is derived by corruption from the genitive to xupis (Cantemir, p. 51.).

fidels; and as he now flood at the gates of para- C H A P. dife, he might best secure his glorious entrance, by demolishing the idols of China, founding mofchs in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an infult on the Mogul name; and the diforders of the empire afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongvou, founder of the dynasty of Ming, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandfon, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war 62. Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour dispatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the Pagan Calmuks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the defert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he foon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the fource of the Irtish to the wall of China. During these preparations, the Emperor atchieved the final conquest of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appealed the troubles of Persia; and slowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

⁶² Synopsis Hist. Sinicæ, p. 74—76. (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot), Duhalde, Hist. de la Chine (tom.i. p. 507, 508. folio edition): and for the Chronology of the Chinese emperors, de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom.i. p. 71, 72.

His triumph at Samarcand, A.D.1404, July— A.D.1405, January 8.

On the throne of Samarcand 63, he displayed, in a fhort repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambaffadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Ruffia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artifts. The marriage of fix of the Emperor's grandfons were esteemed an act of religion as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat, and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state, and the nations of the earth, were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (fays the haughty Perfian) excluded from the feaft; fince even the casses, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean 64. The public joy

⁶³ For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, fee Sherefeddin (1.vi. c. 1—30.) and Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 35—47.).

⁶⁴ Sherefeddin (I. vi. c. 24.) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. King of Castile; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant (Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. xix. c. 11. tom. ii. p. 329, 330.

joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades; CHAF. the trades of Samarcand passed in review: and every trade was emulous to execute fome quaint devife, fome marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriagecontracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Afiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed; every law was relaxed, every pleafure was allowed, the people was free, the fovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty. years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China; the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Touran; their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great waggons, and an immense train of horses and camels: and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than fix months were employed in the tran-

Avertissement à l'Hist. de Timur Bec, p. 28—33.). There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul Emperor and the court of Charles VII. King of France (Histoire de France, par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.).

CHAP, quil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the feverity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched feventy-fix parafangs, three hundred miles from his capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue and the indifcreet use of iced water accelerated A.D.1405, the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Afia expired in the feventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had afcended the throne of Zagatai. His defigns were loft; his armies were difbanded; China was faved; and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children fent an embasiy of friendship

His death on the road to China, April 1.

Character and merits of Timour.

and commerce to the court of Pekin 65. The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; his posterity is still invested with the Imperial title; and the admiration of his subjects, who revered him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies 66. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and statue were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, fo effential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercife.

⁶⁵ See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the Relations Thevenot). They presented the Emperor of China with an old horse which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

⁶⁶ From Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 99. The bright or fofter colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, D'Herbelot, and the Institutions.

In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, C H A P. and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, LXV. he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chefs, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements 67. In his religion he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musulman 68; but his found understanding may tempt us to believe, that a superflitious reverence for omens and prophecies, for faints and aftrologers, was only affected as an instrument of policy. In the government of a vaft empire, he flood alone and absolute, without a rebel to oppose his power, a favourite to feduce his affections, or a minister to mislead his judgment. It was his firmest maxim, that whatever might be the confequence, the word of the prince should never be disputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciously observed, that the commands of anger and destruction were more strictly executed than those of beneficence and favour. His fons and grandfons, of whom Timour left. fix-and-thirty at his decease, were his first and most submissive subjects; and whenever they

⁶⁷ His new fystem was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul Emperor was rather pleased than hurt, with the victory of a subject: a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

68 See Sherefeddin, I. v. c. 15. 25. Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 96. p.801. 803.). reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almost preferred to the Koran the Yasca, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat): nor will he believe that Sharokh had abolished the use and authority of that Pagan code.

deviated

CHAP. deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of Zingis, with the baftonade, and afterwards reftored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the focial virtues: perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public interest; and it may be sufficient to applaud the wisdom of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoverished, and for the justice by which he is ftrengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chaftife the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deferving, to banish vice and idleness from his dominions, to fecure the traveller and merchant, to restrain the depredations of the foldier, to cherish the labours of the husbandman, to encourage industry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate affefiment, to encrease the revenue, without encreasing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince; but, in the discharge of these duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompense. Timour might boast, that, at his accession to the throne, Asia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilst under his prosperous monarchy, a child, fearless and unhurt, might carry a purse of gold from the East to the West. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived excuse for his victories. and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude; and perhaps we shall conclude, that the Mogul Emperor was

rather the scourge than the benefactor of man- CHAP. kind. 1. If fome partial diforders, fome local LXV. oppressions, were healed by the fword of Timour. the remedy was far more pernicious than the difeafe. By their rapine, cruelty, and difcord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects; but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Aftracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ifpahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Bourfa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were facked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his prefence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled, if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had facrificed to the establishment of peace and order 69. 2. His most deftructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a defire of preferving those diftant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient natives. When he had broken

⁶⁹ Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the fixth volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a single note (p. 56. Note 25.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7.). Yet I can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the Institutions.

LXV.

CHAP. the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invafion had aggravated or caused, nor were these evils compenfated by any present or possible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and fometimes blafted, by the abfence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his fervants, and even his fons, forgot their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redreffed by the tardy rigour of enquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the Institutions of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatfoever might be the bleffings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren 70; the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with fome glory by Sharokh his youngest fon: but after his decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbecks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not

⁷º Confult the last chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabshah, and M. de Guignes (Hift. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.), Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 1-62. The flory of Timour's descendants is imperfectly told; and the fecond and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of CHAP. Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls 12) extended their fway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurunzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richeft of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman mo- Civil wars narchy. The massy trunk was bent to the of the sons ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass A.D. 1403 away, than it again rose with fresh vigour and -1421. more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every fense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hords of shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conquefts of Bajazet were reftored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions 72. 1. It is doubt- 1. Mustaful, whether I relate the story of the true Musta- pha: pha, or of an impostor, who personated that lost

⁷¹ Shah Allum, the prefent Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour, by Miran Shah, his third fon. See the iid volume of Dow's History of Hindostan.

⁷² The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Mustapha, are related according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58-82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcondyles (1. iv. and v.), Phranza (1. i. c. 30-32.) and Ducas (c. 18-27.), the last is the most copious and best informed.

He fought by his father's fide in the CHAP. prince. LXV. battle of Angora: but when the captive fultan was permitted to enquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found; and the Turkish historians, the flaves of the triumphant faction, are perfuaded that his brother was confounded among the flain. If Mustapha escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Theffaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the fon and fucceffor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or false, Mustapha been faved by the Greeks, and reftored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and A degenerate mind feemed to argue his spurious birth: and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman fultan, his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A fimilar character and claim was afferted by feveral rival pretenders; thirty persons are said to have fuffered under the name of Mustapha; and these frequent executions may perhaps infinuate, that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's 2 Ifa : captivity, Ifa 37 reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambaffadors were difmiffed from the presence of Timour with fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon de-

prived of his province and life, by a jealous bro-

ther,

⁷³ Arabshah, tom. ii. c. 26. whose testimony on this occasion is weighty and valuable. The existence of Isa (unknown to the Turks) is likewise consumed by Shereseddin (I. v. c. 57.).

ther, the fovereign of Amasia; and the final event CHAP. fuggested a pious allusion, that the law of Moses LXV. and Jesus, of Isa and Mousa, had been abrogated by the greater Mahomet. 3. Soliman is not num- 3. Soliman bered in the lifts of the Turkish emperors: yet he A.D. 1403 checked the victorious progress of the Moguls; and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Bourfa. In war he was brave, active, and unfortunate; his courage was foftened by clemency; but it was likewife inflamed by prefumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline, in a government where either the fubject or the fovereign must continually tremble; his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law; and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication he was furprifed by his brother Mousa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and flain in a bath, after a reign of feven years and ten 4. The investiture of Mousa degraded 4. Mousa, months. him as the flave of the Moguls: his tributary A.D. 1410. kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treafury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the fovereign of Romania. Moufa fled in difguife from the palace of Bourfa; traverfed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Adrianople, fo recently stained with the blood of Soliman.

VOL. XII.

C HAP. In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea; but Mousa was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After refigning the fovereignty of Anatolia, he

. Mahomet I. A. D. 1413 -142I.

fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers, and the superior ascendant of his brother Mahomet. 5. The final victory of Mahomet was the just recompence of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days journey from Constantinople, and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizon and Georgia. The caftle, in Afiatic warfare, was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia 14, which is equally divided by the river Iris, rifes on either fide in the form of an amphitheatre, and reprefents on a finaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his filent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was respected; till, after the triumph of Moufa, he flood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Romania by arms; and the foldier who prefented him

²⁴ Arabíhah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Busbequias, epist. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amasiano.

with the head of Moufa, was rewarded as the CHAP. benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his fole and peaceful reign were ufefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim 75, who might Reign guide the youth of his fon Amurath; and fuch of Amuwas their union and prudence, that they concealed A.D. 1421 above forty days the Emperor's death, till the -1451, arrival of his fuccessor in the palace of Bourfa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts, the wifest Turks, and indeed Re-union the body of the nation, were strongly attached to of the Ottoman the unity of the empire; and Romania and Ana- empire, tolia, fo often torn afunder by private ambition, A.D. 1421. were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have inftructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied with a confederate fleet, the streights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this ge-

⁷⁵ The virtues of Ibrahim are praifed by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey : they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the fultan (Cantemir, p. 76.).

CHAP. nerous enterprife: they enjoyed the prefent re. fpite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese 76, which had been planted at Phocæa 77 on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum 78; and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook, with feven flout gallies, to transport him from Afia to Europe. The fultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship; which was manned by eight hundred of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midft of the paffage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute.

They

¹⁶ See Pachymer (l. v. c. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.). Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57.), and Ducas (c. 25.). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that reforted to New Phocæa, he mentions the English (Ayyanvos); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

⁷⁷ For the spirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, confult the 1st book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his last and learned French translator, M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299.).

⁷⁸ Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hift. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the fecond the Isle of Melos, whose alum mines are described by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the loss of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1459, found that useful mineral in the Isle of Ischia (Isimael, Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

They landed in fight of Mustapha and Gallipoli; CHAP. two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Adrianople; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the request and to the relief of the Greek Emperor, he might be entitled to the praife and gratitude of the Christians 79. But a Musulman, who carried into Georgia the fword of perfecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not difposed to pity or succour the idolaters of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental confequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, ratherthan his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the fad catastrophe. On a fudden, he was aftonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel so

⁷⁹ The writer who has most abused this fabulous generosity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his Works, vol. iii. p. 349, 350. octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, &c. and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refuses the city of Constantine. His stattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of history; yet his pleasing sictions are more excusable than the gross errors of Cantemir.

⁸⁰ For the reigns of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. fee the Othman history of Cantemir (p. 70—95.), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is still superior to his rivals.

CHAP. immediately failed from Modon in the Morea; afcended the throne of Conftantinople; and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the ifle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the fon of Bajazet were foon introduced to his presence: but their pride was fallen, their tone was modeft; they were awed by the just apprehenfion, left the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman faluted the Emperor by the name of father; folicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promifed to deferve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the Emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mourfa; the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulfed by fea and land; and unless the city was guarded by fome foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to affift the most formidable of the fons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the fultan and his troops were transported over the Bofphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his fuccessful fally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was fuspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror; he faithfully discharged his own obligations

obligations and those of Soliman, respected the CHAP. laws of gratitude and peace; and left the Em-, peror guardian of his two younger fons, in the vain hope of faving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion: and the divan unanimoufly pronounced, that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal, the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the prefumption of his fon John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by difmiffing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hoftage, and for whofe maintenance they received an annual pension of three hundred thousand aspers st. At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were ftipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no fooner was he feated on the throne of Romania. than he difmiffed the Greek ambaffadors with a fmile of contempt, declaring in a pious tone. that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath, than for the furrender of a Musulman city into the hands of the infidels. The Emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he had fuftained.

and

⁸¹ The Turkish asper (from the Greek ασπεος) is, or was, a piece of *white* or filver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at least, of a Venetian ducat or sequin; and the 300,000 aspers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500l. Sterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. p. 406—408.).

CHAP. and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the enfuing fpring, by the fiege of Conftantinople 82.

Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II. A.D. 1422. June 10-

The religious merit of fubduing the city of the Cæfars, attracted from Afia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promife of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the August 24. fultan's ambition was confecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet 83, who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his affurances. The ftrength of the walls refifted an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the fallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old refources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who beheld the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage 4. After a fiege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Boursa by a domestic revolt,

84 For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Mufulman faint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

which

⁸² For the fiege of Constantinople in 1422, see the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, published by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188-199.).

⁸³ Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who describes Seid Bechar without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet assumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the fairest of the Greek nuns were promifed to the faint and his disciples.

which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and CHAP. was foon extinguished by the death of a guiltless | brother. While he led his Janizaries to new The Emconquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine peror John empire was indulged in a fervile and precarious gus I. respite of thirty years. Manuel sunk into the A.D.1425, grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to A.D. 1448, reign, for an annual tribute of threehundred thou- October fand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that 31. he held beyond the fuburbs of Conftantinople.

Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be fuccession and merit affigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; of the Otfince, in human life, the most important scenes tomans. will depend on the character of a fingle actor. By fome shades of wisdom and virtue, they may be difcriminated from each other; but except in a fingle inftance, a period of nine reigns and two hundred and fixty-five years is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare feries of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Inflead of the flothful luxury of the feraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were entrufted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly inflitution, which was often productive of civil war, must have effentially

contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themfelves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or fuccesfors of the apostle of God; and the

In the establishment and restoration of the Hereditary

kindred

CHAP. kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis, appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth 85. Their origin is obscure; but their facred and indefeafible right, which no time can erafe, and no violence can infringe, was foon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an ideot: nor has the most daring rebel prefumed to ascend the throne of his lawful fovereign³⁶. While the tranfient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman fucceffion has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

Education and discipline of the Turks.

To the spirit and constitution of that nation, a ftrong and fingular influence may however be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are ftill covered with the white and black fents of their ruftic brethren. But this original drop was

diffolved

^{.85} See Ricaut (l. i. c. 13.). The Turkish fultans assume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman coufins.

²⁵ The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was flain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382.), prefumed to fay, that all the fucceffors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marsigli Stato Militare, &c. p. 28.). This political heretic was a good whig, and justified against the French ambaffador the revolution of England (Mignot, Hift. Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434.). His prefumption condemns the fingular exception of continuing offices in the fame family.

diffolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished CHAP. subjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a fervile class, an artificial people, was raifed by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command 87. From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the fultans were perfuaded that a government of the fword must be renewed in each generation with new foldiers; and that fuch foldiers must be fought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual feminary of the Turkish army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorouflylevied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and main-

⁸⁷ Chalcondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23.) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish foldiers.

CHAP. tained, for the public fervice. According to the promife of their appearance, they were felected for the royal schools of Bourfa, Pera, and Adrianople, entrufted to the care of the bashaws, or dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian peasantry. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in the Turkish language: their bodies were exercifed by every labour that could fortify their strength: they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and feverely trained in the military or monaftic discipline of the order. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of Agiamoglans, or the more liberal rank of Ichoglans, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the perfon of the prince. In four fuccessive schools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darting the javelin were their daily exercise, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in feniority and merit, they were gradually dismissed to military, civil, and even ecclefiaftical employments: the longer their ftay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who flood before the fultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire.

empire 85. Such a mode of inftitution was ad- C H A P. mirably adapted to the form and spirit of a LXV. despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the Emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the feraglio, and fuffered their beards to grow as the fymbol of enfranchisement, they found themfelves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raifed them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb so. In the flow and painful fteps of education, their character and talents were unfolded to a difcerning eye: the man, naked and alone, was reduced to the flandard of his personal merit; and, if the sovereign had wisdom to chuse, he possessed a pure and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abstinence to those of action; by the habits of submission to those of command. A fimilar spirit was diffused among the troops; and their filence and fobriety, their patience and modefty, have extorted the reluctant praise of their Christian

⁸⁸ This fketch of the Turkish education and discipline is chiefly borrowed from Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, the Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marsigli (in Haya, 1732, in folio), and a Description of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Greaves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

⁸⁾ From the feries of cxv vizirs, till the fiege of Vienna (Marfigli, p. 13.), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchase.

C H A P. enemies 90. Nor can the victory appear doubtful if we compare the discipline and exercise of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and diforder, which fo long contaminated the armies of Europe.

Invention and use of gunpowder.

The only hope of falvation for the Greek empire, and the adjacent kingdoms, would have been some more powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should give them a decifive superiority over their Turkish foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; fuch a discovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chymists of China or Europe had found, by cafual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of faltpetre, fulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a spark of fire, a tremendous explosion. It was foon observed, that if the expansive force were compressed in a strong tube, a ball of stone or iron might be expelled with irrefiftible and deftructive velocity. precise æra of the invention and application of gunpowder 91 is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly discern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the same, the use of artillery in battles and fieges, by fea and land, was familiar to the states

⁹⁰ See the entertaining and judicious letters of Busbequius.

⁹¹ The ift and iid volumes of Dr. Watson's Chemical Essays contain two valuable discourses on the discovery and composition of gunpowder.

of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England of CHAP. The priority of nations is of small account: LXV. none could derive any exclusive benefit from their previous or fuperior knowledge; and in the common improvement, they flood on the fame level of relative power and military science. Nor was it possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates and the felfish policy of rivals: and the sultans had fense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accufed as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the fiege of Conftantinople 93. The first attempt was indeed unfuccefsful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on their fide who were most commonly the affailants: for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended; and this thundering artillery was pointed against the walls and towers

92 On this subject modern testimonies cannot be trusted. The criginal passages are collected by Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. Bombarda). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, sound, sire, and effect, that seem to express our artillery may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek sire. For the English cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.) must be weighed against the silence of Frosssand. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom.ii. Dissert. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a decisive passage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriusque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terrestrial thunder, nuper rara, nunc communis.

93 The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) first introduces before Belgrade (A. D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. v. p. 123.) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.

which

CHAP. which had been erected only to refift the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

CHAP. LXVI.

Applications of the Eastern Emperors to the Popes. - Visits to the West, of John the First, Manuel, and John the Second, Palwologus. - Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, promoted by the Council of Bafil, and concluded at Ferrara and Florence. - State of Literature at Constantinople. — Its Revival in Italy by the Greek Fugitives. - Curiofity and Emulation of the Latins.

IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors CHAP. their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins may be observed as the Embassy of thermometer of their prosperity or distress, as the theyounger scale of the rise and fall of the Barbarian dynasties. When the Turks of the house of Seljuk nedict XII. pervaded Asia, and threatened Constantinople, we have feen at the council of Placentia, the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius imploring the protection of the common father of the Chriftians. No fooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the fultan from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes refumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the West, which precipitated the first downfal of their empire. The date of the Mogul invafion is marked in the foft and charitable language of John Vataces. After the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the first VOL. XII.

LXVI. Andronicus to Pope Be-

A.D. 1339.

с н A P. first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies; as long as the sword of Charles was fuspended over his head he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and facrificed to the present danger, his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael, the prince and people afferted the independence of the church and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his last distress pride was the fafeguard of fuperfition; nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandfon, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and fituation; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks, admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years, a fecret agent, the monk Barlaam, was dispatched to Pope Benedict the Twelfth; and his artful inftructions appear to have been drawn by the mafter-hand of the great domestic. "Most holy father," was he commissioned to fay, "the Emperor is not less desirous than

The arguments for a crufade and union.

"yourfelf of an union between the two churches: " but in this delicate transaction, he is obliged co to respect his own dignity and the prejudices " of his fubjects. The ways of union are

This curious inftruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his Continuation of the Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646—1677, in x volumes in folio). I have contented myfelf with the Abbé Fleury (Hift. Ecclefiastique, tom. xx. p. 1-8.), whose abstracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

two-fold; force, and perfuasion. Of force, the CHAP. "inefficacy has been already tried; fince the 46 Latins have subdued the empire, without "fubduing the minds, of the Greeks. " method of perfuafion, though flow, is fure and es permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty " of our doctors would probably agree with "those of the Vatican, in the love of truth and "the unity of belief, but on their return, what " would be the use, the recompense of such " agreement? the fcorn of their brethren, and "the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. "Yet that nation is accustomed to reverence "the general councils, which have fixed the " articles of our faith; and if they reprobate the "decrees of Lyons, it is because the Eastern churches were neither heard nor represented in "that arbitrary meeting. For this falutary end, it will be expedient, and even necessary, that " a well-chosen legate should be fent into Greece, " to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, " Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and, "with their aid, to prepare a free and universal " fynod. But at this moment," continued the fubtle agent, "the empire is affaulted and endan-" gered by the Turks, who have occupied four " of the greatest cities in Anatolia. The Chrifstian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance and religion; but "the forces and revenues of the Emperor are in-" fufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman " legate must be accompanied, or preceded, by " an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and " open a way to the holy fepulchre." If the fuspicious

CHAP. suspicious Latins should require some pledge, fome previous effect of the fincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational. "I. A general fynod can alone con-" fummate the union of the churches; nor can " fuch a fynod be held till the three Oriental " patriarchs, and a great number of bishops, are " enfranchised from the Mahometan yoke. " 2. The Greeks are alienated by a long feries of " oppression and injury: they must be reconciled " by some act of brotherly love, some effectual " fuccour, which may fortify the authority and " arguments of the Emperor, and the friends of " the union. 3. If some difference of faith or cere-" monies should be found incurable, the Greeks "however are the disciples of Christ; and the "Turks are the common enemies of the Chris-"tian name. The Armenians, Cyprians, and 46 Rhodians, are equally attacked; and it will " become the piety of the French princes to "draw their fwords in the general defence of " religion. 4. Should the fubjects of Andronicus " be treated as the worst of schismaties, of here-"tics, of pagans, a judicious policy may yet " inftruct the powers of the West to embrace an " ufeful ally, to uphold a finking empire, to " guard the confines of Europe; and rather to " join the Greeks against the Turks, than to ex-" pect the union of the Turkish arms with the " troops and treasures of captive Greece." The reasons, the offers, and the demands, of Andronicus, were eluded with cold and stately indifference. The Kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crufade: the pope refused to call a new fynod to determine old articles of CHAP. faith: and his regard for the obfolete claims of LXVI. the Latin emperor and clergy engaged him to use an offensive superscription; "To the mode-" rator of the Greeks, and the perfons who " ftyle themselves the patriarchs of the Eastern "churches." For fuch an embaffy, a time and character less propitious could not easily have been found. Benedict the Twelfth's was a dull peafant, perplexed with fcruples, and immerfed in floth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the pastoral office.

After the decease of Andronicus, while the Negotia-Greeks were diftracted by intestine war, they tion of could not prefume to agitate a general union of Cantacuthe Christians. But as foon as Cantacuzene had Clement VI. fubdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to justify, or at least to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Musulman prince.

1348.

² The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and moderator, as fynonymous to rector, gubernator, is a word of classical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Gloffary of Ducange, but in the Thefaurus of Robert Stephens.

³ The first epistle (fine titulo) of Petrarch exposes the danger of the bark, and the incapacity of the pilot. Hac inter, vino madidus, zvo gravis ac foporifero ro re perfufus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam fomno præceps, atque (utinam folus) ruit Heu quanto felicius patrio terram fulcaffet aratro, quam scalmum piscatorium ascendisset. This fatire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII. which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papists and Protestants (see Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 259, ii. not. xv. p. 13-16.). He gave occasion to the faying, Bibamus papaliter.

CHAP. Two officers of state, with a Latin interpreter, LXVI. were fent in his name to the Roman court, which was transplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhône, during a period of seventy years; they represented the hard necessity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the mifcreants, and pronounced by his command the specious and edifying founds of union and crusade. Pope Clement the Sixth4, the fucceffor of Benedict, received them with hospitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their fovereign, excused his distress, applauded his magnanimity, and difplayed a clear knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the Empress Annes. If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a prieft, he poffeffed however the spirit and magnificence of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign Avignon was the feat of pomp and pleasure; in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope, was adorned, or pol-

⁴ See the original Lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 550-589.); Matteo Villani (Chron. 1. iii. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 186.), who styles him, molto cavallaresco, poco religioso; Fleury (Hist. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 126.) and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 42-45.). The Abbé de Sade treats him with the most indulgence; but be is a gentleman as well as a priest.

⁵ Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied, and alone remained with her miffress at Constantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeness, deserved the praises of the Greeks themselves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42.).

luted, by the visits of his female favourites. The CHAP. wars of France and England were adverse to the holy enterprife; but his vanity was amused by the splendid idea; and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople, the Emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence: and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praifes and promifes, by which both parties were amufed, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," faid the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project. " of our holy war, which must redound to my ef personal glory, as well as to the public benefit " of Christendom. My dominions will give a " free passage to the armies of France: my troops, " my gallies, my treasures, shall be confecrated " to the common cause; and happy would be " my fate, could I deferve and obtain the crown " of martyrdom. Words are infufficient to ex-" press the ardour with which I figh for the re-"union of the scattered members of Christ. If "my death could avail, I would gladly prefent " my fword and my neck; if the spiritual phænix " could arife from my ashes I would erect the " pile, and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor prefumed to observe. that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus; and firmly declared, that he would never fubmit his conscience, unless to the decrees of a free and F 4

LXVI.

CHAP. and universal synod. "The situation of the "times," continued he, "will not allow the pope cand myself to meet either at Rome or Confantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on the verge of the two empires, to " unite the bishops, and to instruct the faithful, " of the East and West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were foon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his fuccessor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloifter; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counfels of his pupil or the state.6

Treaty of John Palæologus I. cent VI. A.D. 3355·

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to emwith Inno- brace, to believe, and to obey, the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship, but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion; she had formed the infancy of her fon, and the governed the Emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the fize of man. first year of his deliverance and restoration, the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the fon of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himfelf

⁶ See this whole negotiation in Cantacuzene (1. iv. c. 9.) who, amidst the praises and virtues which he bestows on himself, reveals the uneasiness of a guilty conscience.

nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and CHAP. in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of flavery', fubfcribed in purple ink, and fealed with the golden bull, was privately intrufted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the Sixth and his fucceffors, the fupreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. Emperor promifes to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to affign a palace for their refidence, and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second fon Manuel as the hoftage of his faith. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succour of fifteen gallies, with five hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same fpiritual yoke; but as the refistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to diffribute the vacant benefices among the ecclefiaftics who fhould fubfcribe the creed of the Vatican: three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Conftantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first fludent. Should he fail in the measures of perfuafion or force, Palæologus declares himfelf

⁷ See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hift. Ecclef. p. 151-154.), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

CHAP. unworthy to reign; transferred to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his fon and But this treaty was neither executed fucceffor. nor published: the Roman gallies were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the fecrecy, that their fovereign escaped the dishonour of this fruitless humiliation.

Visit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome, A.D. 1369, October 13, &c.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and, after the loss of Adrianople and Romania, he was inclosed in his capital, the vaffal of the haughty Amurath, with the miferable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope; he was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever vifited the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could feek confolation or relief: and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the facred college than at the Ottoman Porte. After a long absence the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tyber; Urban the Fifths, of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the

fame

⁵ See the two first original Lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623. 635.), and the Ecclefiaftical Annals of Spondanus, tom. i. p. 573. A. D. 1363, No 7.), and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hift. Eccles. tom. xx. p. 223, 224.). Yet, from fome variations, I suspect the papal writers of slightly magnifying the genu-Sexions of Palæologus.

same year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the CHAP. Vatican the two Imperial shadows, who reprefented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this fuppliant visit the Emperor of Conftantinople, whose vanity was lost in his diftrefs, gave more than could be expected of empty founds and formal fubmiffions. A previous trial was imposed: and in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the fupremacy of the pope, and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter; Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was feated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kiffed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a fumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet some difference was observed between the Emperors of the East and West's; nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chaunting the gospel in the rank of a deacon 10. In favour of his profelyte, Urban

9 Paullo minus quam fi fuisset Imperator Romanorum. Yet his title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.),

10 It was confined to the successor of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas-day. On all other festivals these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the corporal. Yet the Abbé de Sado generously thinks that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just value on the privilege, and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. P. 735.).

CHAP. strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause, and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the Emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood ", or Acuto, who, with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; fold his fervices to the hoftile states; and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special license was granted to negotiate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprize; and it was for the advantage, perhaps, of Palæologus to be difappointed of a fuccour, that must have been coftly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous12. The disconsolate Greek13 prepared for his return, but even his

12 This torrent of English (by birth or service) overslowed from France into Italy after the peace of Bretigny in 1360. Yet the exclamation of Muratori (Annali, tom. xii. p. 197.) is rather true than civil. "Ci mancava ancor questo, che dopo essere calpestrata l'Italia " da tanti mainadieri Tedeschi ed Ungheri, venissero sin dall' Ingh-" literra nuovi cani a finire di divorarla."

13 Chalcondyles, 1. i. p. 25, 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the King of France, which is fufficiently refuted by the filence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene confolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

return

[&]quot; Through fome Italian corruptions, the etymology of Falcane in bosco (Matteo Villani, l. xi. c. 79. in Muratori, tom. xv. p. 746.), suggefts the English word Hawkwood the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walfingham, Hift. Anglican. inter Scriptores, Cambdeni, p. 184.). After two-and-twenty victories, and one defeat, he died, in 1394, General of the Florentines, and was buried with fuch honours as the republic has not paid Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 212-371.).

return was impeded by a most ignominious ob- C H A P. stacle. On his arrival at Venice he had bor- LXVI. rowed large fums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best fecurity for the payment. His eldest fon Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhauft every resource; and, even by ftripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and difgrace. But the unnatural youth was infenfible of the difgrace, and fecretly pleased with the captivity of the Emperor; the ftate was poor, the clergy were obstinate; nor could fome religious fcruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was feverely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who inftantly fold or mortgaged all that he poffessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his His return return to Constantinople the parent and king to Constandiffinguished his two fons with suitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the flothful Palæologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apostacy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins 14.

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, Visit of the his fon and fucceffor, Manuel, from a fimilar Emperor Manuel,

tinople, A.D. 1370.

motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the

¹⁴ His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241.), leaves some intermediate æra for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

LXVI.

CHAP. countries of the West. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the fiege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French fuccour under the command of the gallant Boucicault 15. By his ambaffadors, Manuel had folicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the presence of a distreffed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest Barbarians 16: and the marshal who advifed the journey, prepared the reception of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was fafe and open; Italy received him as the first or, at leaft, as the fecond of the Christian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from finking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the Duke of Milan, a fecret ally of Bajazet, gave him fafe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions 17. On the to the court confines of France18 the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expenses;

of France, A.D. 1400, June 3.;

and

Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 35, 36.

¹⁶ His journey into the west of Europe is slightly, and I believe reluctantly noticed by Chalcondyles (l.ii. c. 44-50.) and Ducas (c. 14.).

¹⁷ Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 409. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissard; and he contributed to fave and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

¹⁸ For the reception of Manuel at Paris, see Spondanus (Annal. Ecclef. tom. i. p. 676, 677. A. D. 1400, No 5.), who quotes Juvenal des Urfins, and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (Hift. de France, tom. xii. p. 331-334.), who quotes nobody, according to the last fashion of the French writers.

and two thousand of the richest citizens, in arms CHAP. and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far . as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was faluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the Sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his bother with a cordial embrace. The fuccessor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white filk, and mounted on a milk-white steed, a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of fingular importance: the white colour is confidered as the fymbol of fovereignty; and, in a late vifit, the German Emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a fuccession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chace, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence, and amuse his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were aftonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments, of his Greek clergy. But the flightest glance on the flate of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual affiftance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed fome lucid intervals. continually relapfed into furious or flupid infanity: the reins of government were alternately feized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love :

C H AP. love: the latter was the father of John Count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish captivity; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiofity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of England, jacent island. In his progress from Dover he

A.D. 1400.

of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adwas entertained at Canterbury with due reverence December. by the prior and monks of St. Auftin; and, on Blackheath, King Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as Emperor of the East 19. But the state of England was still more adverse to the defign of the holy war. In the same year the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered: the reigning prince was a fuccefsful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealoufy and remorfe: nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne inceffantly shaken by confpiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the Emperor of Constantinople; but if the English monarch assumed the cross, it was

¹⁹ A short note of Manuel, in England, is extracted by Dr. Hody from a MS. at Lambeth (de Græcis illustribus, p. 14.), C. P. Imperator, diu variisque et horrendis Paganorum insultibus coartatus, ut pro eifdem refistentiam triumphalem perquireret Anglorum Regem visitare decrevit, &c. Rex (fays Walfingham, p. 364) nobili aparatû fuscepit (ut decuit) tantum Heroa, duxitque Londonias, et per multos dies exhibuit gloriofe pro expensis hospitii fui solvens, et eum respiciens tanto fassigio donativis. He repeats the same in his Upodigma Neustriæ (p. 556.).

only to appeale his people, and perhaps his CHAP. conscience, by the merit or semblance of this LXVI. pious intention 20. Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, His return after a residence of two years in the West, to Greece, A.D. 1402. shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private fale. The Latin church was diffracted by the great fchifm: the kings, the nations, the univerlities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the Emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any correspondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without defiring, or deferving, the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the fins of the faithful. The Roman Pope was offended by this neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic 21.

During the period of the crusades, the Greeks Greek beheld with aftonishment and terror the perpetual knowledge and de-

fcriptions.

50 Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

This fact is preserved in the Historia Politica, A.D. 1391-1478, published by Martin Crusius (Turco Græcia, p. 1-43.). The image of Christ, which the Greek Emperor refused to worship, was probably a work of fculpture.

C H A P. stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer prefumed to brand with The observations of the name of Barbarians. Manuel, and his more inquisitive followers, have been preferved by a Byzantine historian of the times 22: his fcattered ideas I shall collect and abridge: and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern flate are fo familiar to our minds. I. GERMANY (fays the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the river Tarteflus, and the Pyrenæan mountains 23. The foil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful; the air is falubrious; the bodies of the natives are

of Germany;

> 22 The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the fame year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digreffions, the modest historian has never introduced himfelf; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 474.), feems ignorant of his life and character. his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l.ii. p. 36, 37. 44-50.

> 23 I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this inftance, he perhaps followed, and miftook, Herodotus (l.ii. c. 33.), whose text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.), or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their lesser geo-

graphers?

robuft

robust and healthy; and these cold regions are CHAP. feldom visited with the calamities of pestilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations: they are brave and patient, and where they united under a fingle head, their force would be irrefiftible. By the gift of the Pope, they have acquired the privilege of chufing the Roman Emperor²⁴; nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strafburgh, Cologne, Hamburgh, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by fage and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage of the whole community. The use of duels, or fingle combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their industry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boaft of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The kingdom of France is fpread above of France: fifteen or twenty days journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean; containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the feat of the King, which furpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many

²⁴ A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome furvived, would have scorned to dignify the German Pn with the titles of Bariasus or Αύτοθεατωε Ρωμαιων: but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcondyles; and he describes the Byzantine prince, and his subject, by the proper, though humble, names of Examps, and Baciasu; Έλληνων.

CHAP. princes and lords alternately wait in his palace, and acknowledge him as their fovereign, the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own and the more remote feas. The French are an ancient and opulent people: and their language and manners, though fomewhat different, are not diffimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland 25; they esteem themselves the first of the western nations; but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British eiEngland. illand. III. BRITAIN, in the ocean, and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one, or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the fame manners, and by a fimilar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand ftadia: the land is overspread with towns and villages: though deftitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth

is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populouf-

ness

²⁵ Most of the old romances were translated in the xivth century into French profe, and foon became the favourite amusement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may furely be excused, fince the Monks of St. Denys, the national historians, have inferted the fables of Archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

ness and power, in riches and luxury, London 26, CHAP. the metropolis of the ifle may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the diftance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide affords a fafe entrance and departure to the veffels of commerce. The King is the head of a powerful and turbulent ariftocracy; his principal vasfals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic fedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their fwords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decifive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent: in the habits of domestic life, they are not eafily diftinguished from their neighbours of France: but the most fingular circumflance of their manners is their difregard of conjugal honour and of female chaftity. In their mutual vifits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and

²⁶ Λοιδυνη δε τε πολις δυναμει τε περεχεσα των εν τη νιπω ταυτη πασων πολεων, ολόω τε και τη αλλη ευδαιμονία εδεμιας των περος εσπεςαν λειπομενη. Even fince the time of Fitzstephen (the xiith century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increase has, at least, kept peace with the general improvement of Europe.

CHAP. borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce, and its inevitable confequences 27. Informed as we are of the customs of old England, and affured of the virtue of our mothers, we may finile at the credulity, or refent the injustice, of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute 28 with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injuftice may teach an important lesson; to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man 29.

Indifference of Manuel towards the Latins, A. D. 1402 -I4I7.

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the fons of Bajazet folicited his friendship and spared his dominions, he was fatisfied with the national religion; and his leifure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance 30 announces the restoration of the

²⁷ If the double sense of the verb Kuw (osculor, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and mistake (p. 49.).

²⁸ Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andrelino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence however he draws no fcandalous inferences.

²⁹ Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæsar and Dion (Dion Caffius, l. lxii. tom. ii. p. 1007.), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The Arreoy of Otaheite, fo certain at first, is become less visible and fcandalous, in proportion as we have fludied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

³⁰ See Lenfant, Hift. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 576.; and for the ecclefiaftical hiftory of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliotheque of Dupin. tom. xii. and xxift and xxiid volumes of the History, or rather the continuation, of Fleury.

Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church; CHAP. the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and LXVI. Amurath, reconciled the Emperor to the Vatican: and the fiege of Conftantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghoft. When Martin the Fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one His negofide, and diffress on the other, dictated the same A.D. 1417 decent language of charity and peace: the artful -1425. Greek expressed a defire of marrying his fix sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, dispatched the daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to foften by their charms the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and infincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the viciflitudes of danger and repose, the Emperor advanced or retreated; alternately inftructed and difavowed his ministers: and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the fense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions it will appear, that the Greeks infifted on three fucceffive measures, a succour, a council, and a final re-union, while the Latins eluded the fecond, and only promifed the first, as a confequential and voluntary reward of the third. But

His private motives.

CHAP. we have an opportunity of unfolding the most fecret intentions of Manuel as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or difguife. In his declining age, the Emperor had affociated John Palæologus, the fecond of the name, and the eldeft of his fons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza 31, his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and fuccesfor the true principle of his negociations with the Pope 32. "Our last resource," faid Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our " union with the Latins, of the warlike nations " of the West, who may arm for our relief and " for their destruction. As often as you are " threatened by the miscreants, present this dan-" gerbefore their eyes. Propose a council; consult " on the means; but ever delay and avoid the " convocation of an affembly, which cannot tend " either to our spiritual or temporal emolument.

³¹ From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the fervice of the state and palace; and Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the firongest terms to his fuccessor: Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui ministravit mihi fideliter et diligenter (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the Emperor John was cold, and he preferred the fervice of the despots of Peloponnesus.

³² See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While so many manuscripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Efcurial, &c. it is a matter of shame and reproach, that we should be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, of James Pontanus ad calcem Theophylact. Symocattæ: (Ingolftadt, 1604), fo deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 615-620.).

The Latins are proud; the Greeks are ob- CHAP. "flinate; neither party will recede or retract; "and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm "the fchifm, alienate the churches, and leave " us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of "the Barbarians." Impatient of this falutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat, and departed in filence; and the wife monarch (continues Phranza), casting his eyes on me, thus refumed his discourse: "My son deems himself "a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our " miserable age does not afford scope for heroisin " or greatness. His daring spirit might have " fuited the happier times of our ancestors; but "the present state requires not an Emperor, but " a cautious steward of the last relics of our " fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty ex-" pectations which he built on our alliance with "Mustapha; and much do I fear, that his rash " courage will urge the ruin of our house, and "that even religion may precipitate our down-" fall." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preferved the peace, and eluded the council; till, in the feventy-eighth year of his age, and His death, in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his fa-Of his fix fons 33, Andronicus vourite fervants. the Second was invested with the principality of Theffalonica, and died of a leprofy foon after the fale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents

CHAP. had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the LXVI. empire; and in his more prosperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow ifthmus of fix miles 34 with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans; the fertile peninsula might have been fufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength; and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

Zeal of John Palæologus II. -I437.

The eldest of the fons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, was acknowledged, after his A.D. 1425 father's death, as the fole Emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife. and to contract a new marriage with the Princess of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm affurance, that unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloifter, and leave the throne to his brother Conftantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus was over a Jew 35, whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to

³⁴ The exact measure of the Hexamilion, from sea to sea, was 3800 orgygiæ, or toises, of fix Greek feet, (Phranzes, 1. i. c. 38.), which would produce a Greek mile, still smaller than that of 660 French toiles, which is affigned by D'Anville as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the ifthmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

⁵⁵ The first objection of the Jews, is on the death of Christ; if it were voluntary, Christ was a fuicide: which the Emperor parries with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the virgin, the sense of the prophecies, &c. (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 12. a whole chapter).

the Christian faith; and this momentous con- CHAP. quest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he foon refumed the defign of uniting the East and West; and regardless of his father's advice, liftened, as it should feem with fincerity, to the propofal of meeting the Pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the Fifth, and coldly entertained by his fucceffor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negociation, the Emperor received a fummons from the Latin affembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Bafil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman Pontiffhad fought and conquered Corruption in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the of the Latin church. victorious clergy were foon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his facred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trufts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and fuperfeded by previous and arbitrary refervations 36. A public auction was inflituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the spoils of nations; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the

³⁶ In the treatife delle Materie Beneficiare of Fra-Paolo (in the ivth volume of the last and best edition of his works), the papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history, and a falutary warning.

LXVI.

Schifm, A.D. 1377

-1429 ;

CHAP, heads of aliens and absentees. During their refidence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes fublided in the meaner passions of avarice 37 and luxury: they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, diforder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed; and their precarious fituation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants Council of and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore Pifa, A.D. the monarchy, of the church, the fynods of Pifa and Constance 38 were successively convened; but these great assemblies, conscious of their ftrength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged fovereign whom

1409; of

Constance, A.D. 1414

-1418;

they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman fupremacy; nor did they feparate till

³⁷ Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of feven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whose brother received the account from the papal treasurers. A treasure of fix or eight millions fterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almost incredible.

³⁸ A learned and liberal Protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pifa, Constance, and Basil, in fix volumes in quarto; but the last part is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

they had established the authority, above the CHAP. Pope, of a general council. It was enacted, LXVI. that, for the government and reformation of the church, fuch affemblies should be held at regular intervals: and that each fynod, before its diffolution, should appoint the time and place of the fubsequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was eafily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Bafil 39 had almost of Bafil, been fatal to the reigning Pontiff, Eugenius the A.D. 1431 Fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to haften the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the churchmilitant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the Pope; and that a general council could not be diffolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and confent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to fummon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious fuccessor of St. Peter. many delays, to allow time for repentance, they position to Eugenius finally declared, that, unless he submitted within IV. the term of fixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over

After Their op-

³⁹ The original acts or minutes of the council of Basil, are preferved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Bafil was a free city, conveniently fituate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swifs. In 1459, the university was founded by Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been fecretary to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the presses of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

CHAP. the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the facred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom; the Emperor Sigifmond declared himself the servant and protector of the fynod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the Duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an infurrection of the Roman people. jected at the same time by his temporal and fpiritual fubjects, fubmission was his only choice; by a most humiliating bull, the Pope repealed his own acts, and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and feemed to refign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East; and it was in their presence that Sigismond received the ambassadors of the Turkish Sultan 40, who laid at his feet twelve large vafes, filled with robes of filk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Bafil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as A.D. 1434 well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople to unite with an affembly which poffeffed the confidence of the Western nations. Palæologus was not averse to

Negociations with the Greeks, -I437·

⁴º This Turkish embassy, attested only by Cranzius, is related with fome doubt by the annalist Spondanus, A.D. 1433, No 25, tom. i. p. 824.

the proposal; and his ambassadors were intro- CHAP. duced with due honours into the Catholic fenate. LXVI. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he resused to pass the Alps, or the fea of Sicily, and positively required that the fynod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily ftipulated: it was agreed to defray the travelling expences of the Emperor, with a train of feven hundred persons 41, to remit an immediate fum of eight thousand ducats 42 for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers and fome gallies, for the protection of Conftantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expences; and the embarkation was prepared at Marfeilles with fome difficulty and delay.

In his diftrefs, the friendship of Palæologus John Pawas disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the leologus West; but the dextrous activity of a monarch the Pope's prevailed over the flow debates and inflexible gallies, temper of a republic. The decrees of Bafil con- Nov. 4. tinually tended to circumfcribe the despotism of

⁴¹ Syropulus, p. 19. In this lift, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the Emperor and Patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclefiarch. The 75,000 florins which they asked in this negociation of the Pope (p. 9.) were more than they could hope

⁴² I use indifferently the words, ducat and florin, which derive their names, the former from the dukes of Milan, the latter from the republic of Florence. These gold pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one third of the English guinea.

CHAP. the Pope, and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious fynod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was loft if they paffed the Alps; Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were deferibed at Conftantinople as fituate far beyond the pillars of Hercules 43; the Emperor and his clergy were apprehenfive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by an haughty declaration, that after suppressing the new herefy of the Bohemians, the council would foon eradicate the old herefy of the Greeks 44. On the fide of Eugenius, all was fmooth, and yielding, and respectful: and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his presence the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Eaftern, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview; and with fome indulgence of forgery and theft, a furreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the fynod, with its own consent, to that Italian city. Nine gallies were equipped for this fervice at Venice, and in the

⁴³ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epiftle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the Emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps; δ αθλιοι (fays he) σε και την μετα σε συνοδον εξω των Ήρακλειων ς ηλων και περα Γαδηρων εξαξεσι. Was Conftantinople unprovided with a map?

⁴⁴ Syropulus (p. 26-31.) attests his own indignation, and that of his countrymen; and the Bafil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

isle of Candia; their diligence anticipated the CHAP. flower veffels of Bafil: the Roman admiral was LXVI. commissioned to burn, fink, and destroy 45; and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the same seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the preeminence of glory. Affaulted by the importunity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory: and reason must suggest, that since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismond diffuaded the unfeafonable adventure; his advice was impartial, fince he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the strange belief, that the German Cæfar would nominate a Greek his heir and fuccessor in the empire of the West 46. Even the Turkish fultan was a counsellor whom it might be unfafe to truft, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yethe declared with feeming magnanimity,

45 Condolmieri, the Pope's nephew and admiral, expressly declared, ετι δεισμον εχει σαςα το Παπα ίνα σολεμηση έπο αν ευρητα καθερία της Συνδε, και ει δυνηθη καθαυση και αφανίση. The naval orders of the fynod were less peremptory, and, till the hostile squadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

⁴⁶ Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36.), and the laft advice of Sigifmond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek Emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it fooner, he would

have returned home (p.79.).

C H A P. that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate. in the absence of her sovereign 47. The resolution of Palæologus was decided, by the most fplendid gifts and the most specious promises: he wished to escape for a while from a scene of danger and diffress; and after dismissing with an ambiguous answer the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman gallies. The age of the Patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the fea, and expressed his apprehension, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin fynod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering affurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations; and to the fecret wish of learning from his brother of the West, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings45. The five cross-bearers,

or dignitaries, of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus⁴⁹, has

49 The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, 522005, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words:

composed

⁴⁷ Phranzes himself, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13.). Utinam ne fynodus ista unquam fuisset, si tantas offensiones et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkish embassy is likewise mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125. 219.), but he never attacked the city.

⁴⁸ The reader will finile at the simplicity with which he imparted these hopes to his favourites: τοιαυτην πληροφορίαν σχησειν ηλούζε και δία ε Παπα εθαερει ελευθερωσαι την εκκλησιαν απο της αποτεθείσης αυθε δελειας παρα τε βασιλεως (p.92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practised the lessons of Gregory VII.

composed so a free and curious history of the false CHAP. union 51. Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed LXVI. the fummons of the Emperor and the Patriarch, fubmission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephefus and Trebizond, and the perfonal merit of Mark and Beffarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the epifcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and fanctity of the Greek church: and the fervice of the choir was performed by a felect band of fingers and muficians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerufalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vafes of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendour; whatever gold

nor can any reasoning of Creyghton, the editor, excuse his changing into Sguropulus (Sguros, fuscus) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

5° From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (sectio xii. p. 330—350.). His passions were cooled by time and retirement; and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

51 Vera historia unionis non vera inter Gracos et Latinos (Haga Comitis, 1660, in solio), was first published with a loose and slorid version, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the hest of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style; but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

CHAP. the Emperor could procure, was expended in the maffy ornaments of his bed and chariot52; and while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and flate, embarked in eight veffels with fails and oars, which fleered through the Turkish streights of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf 53.

His triumphal entry at Venice, Feb.9.;

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of feventy-feven days, this religious fquadron caft A.D. 1438, anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honours from his fubjects as were paid to his feeble fucceffor by an independent state. Seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the vifit, or, in the Greek ftyle, the adoration, of the doge and fenators54. They failed in the Bucentaur,

53 Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth fection (p. 67-100.), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

54 At the time of the fynod, Phranzes was in Peloponnelus; but he received from the despot Demetrius, a faithful account of the honourable reception

⁵² Syropulus (p. 63.) fimply expresses his intention & ετω πομπαων εν Ιταλοις μείας βασιλευς στας' εκειων νομιζοίο; and the Latin of Creyghton may afford a specimen of his florid paraphrase. Ut pompå circumductos noster Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Crœfus ex opulenta Lydia.

which was accompanied by twelve flately gallies: CHAF. the fea was overspread with innumerable gondolas LXVI. of pomp and pleasure; the air resounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the veffels, were dreffed in filk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto: and the Eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city, that feems to float on the bosom of the waves 55. They fighed to behold the fpoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the fack of Conftantinople. After an hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus purfued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara: and, on this occasion, the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the Emperor of the East. He made his entry on a black horse; but a milk- into Ferrawhite fleed, whose trappings were embroidered 12, Feb. 28. with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a fovereign more powerful

reception of the Emperor and Patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux fedentem Imperatorem adorat), which are more flightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

than

⁵⁵ The aftonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassador (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. vii. c. 18.). at the fight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xvth century, it was the first and most fplendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, fee Syropulus (p. 87.).

EHAP. than himfelf's. Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the Pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused his proffered genuflection; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the Emperor to a feat on his left-hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galley, till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Conftantinople. The latter was faluted by his brother with a kifs of union and charity: nor would any of the Greek ecclefiaftics fubmit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the fynod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and eccleflastical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not affisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left fides of the church should be occupied by the two nations; that the folitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek Emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the Emperor of the West 57.

But

⁵⁵ Nicholas III. of Este reigned forty-eight years (A.D. 1393-1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his Life in Muratori (Antichitá Estense, tom. ii. p. 159 -20I.).

⁵⁷ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the Emperor diftinguished except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (Hody

But as foon as festivity and form had given CHAP. place to a more ferious treaty, the Greeks were . diffatisfied with their journey, with themselves, Council of and with the Pope. The artful pencil of his emiffaries had painted him in a prosperous state; at at Ferrara the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the universal fynod of Ferrara betrayed his weakness; and the Latins opened the first session with only five archbishops, eighteen bishops, and ten abbots, the greatest part of whom were the subjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the Duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the West condescended to appear in person, or by their ambassadors; nor was it possible to suppress the judicial acts of Bafil against the dignity and person of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under these circumstances, a truce or delay was asked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the confent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first fession, the public proceedings were adjourned The Emperor, with a chosen above fix months. band of his favourites and Janizaries, fixed his fummer refidence at a pleafant spacious monaftery, fix miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleafures of the chace, the diftress of the church and ftate; and perfifted in deftroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis

the Greeks and Latins and Flo-A. D. 1438, Oct. 8-A.D. 1439,

July 6.

de Græcis Illustribus, p. 31.). Yet another spectator confesses, that the Greek fashion was piu grave e piu degna than the Italian (Vespasiano, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).

LXVI.

CHAP. or the husbandman 58. In the meanwhile, his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miferies of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was affigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire fum did not amount to feven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court 59. They fighed for a fpeedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a paffport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara: the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople; excommunication, fines, and a fentence, which did not respect the facerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and publicly whipped. It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to

> 58 For the Emperor's hunting, fee Syropulus (p. 143, 144. 191.). The Pope had fent him eleven miserable hacks; but he bought a firong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of Janizaries may furprise: but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman to the Byzantine court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

> 59 The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins per month to the perfons of honourable rank, and three florins to their fervants, with an addition of thirty more to the Emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or despot Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105.). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 172. 225. 271.).

> 60 Syropulus (p. 141, 142, 204, 221.) deplores the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the Emperor and Patriarch.

open the first conference; and they yielded with CHAP. extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a slying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the sidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the Duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the Pope, the Emperor, and the Bishops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine of.

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the Fifth, who was successively a Duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation: the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops, and three hundred of the inferior clergy 52; while the Latins of Florence

of The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the Pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

⁶² Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extra-

LXVI.

CHAP. Florence could produce the subscriptions of the Pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight arch-bishops, fifty-two bishops, and fortyfive abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five fessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The use of unleavened bread 2. The nain the communion of Christ's body. ture of purgatory. 3. The supremacy of the pope. And, 4. The fingle or double procession of the Holy Ghoft. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions; the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of Cardinal Julian; and Mark of Ephefus and Beffarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing, that the first of these questions was now treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the fecond, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial fins of the faithful; and whether their fouls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently fettled on the fpot by the disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared of a more

> vagant number could not be fupplied by all the ecclefiaftics of every degree who were present at the council, nor by all the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

weighty and substantial kind; yet by the Orien- CHAP. tals the Roman bishop had ever been respected. LXVI. as the first of the five patriarchs; nor did they fcruple to admit, that his jurifdiction should be exercifed agreeable to the holy canons; a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had funk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the fessions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin edition of filioque was fubdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference; but I must think that the Greeks were ftrongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, against adding any article whatfoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople 63. In earthly affairs, it is not eafy to conceive how an affembly of legislators can bind their fuccesfors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop, or a provincial fynod, have prefumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the fubftance of the doctrine, the controversy was equal and endless: reason is confounded by the procession of a deity;

the

⁶³ The Greeks, who distiked the union, were unwilling to fally from this strong fortress (p. 178. 193. 195. 202. of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with filioque in the Nicene creed. A palpable forgery! (p. 173.).

CHAP. the gospel, which lay on the altar, was filent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by fophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin faints 64. Of this at least we may be fure, that neither fide could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a fuperficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words; their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the same founds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

Negociations with the Greeks.

While they were loft in a cloud of dust and darkness, the Pope and Emperor were desirous of a feeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negociation. The Patriarch Joseph had funk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopesof the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Ruslia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Beffarion, in the first de-

bates,

⁶⁴ Ως είω (faid an eminent Greek) οίαν εις ναον εισελθω Λαίινων 2 ωροσκυνω τινα των εκείσε ά γιων, επεί εδε γνωρίζω τινα (Syropulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218. 252, 253. 273.)-

bates, had stood forth the most strenuous and CHAP. eloquent champion of the Greek church; and LXVI. if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country65, he appears in ecclefiaftical flory a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud opposition and welltimed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the Emperor applied his arguments to the general fituation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was succesfively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins: an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, was foon exhaufted 66: the hopes of their return ftill depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and fuch was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe 67. The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious diffimulation; and it was infinuated, that the obftinate heretics who should resist the consent of the

65 See the polite altercation of Mark and Bessarion in Syropulus (p. 257.), who never dissembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praises the virtues of the Latius.

of Ducas (c. 31.). One had roffessed bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had rossessed for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these, the Archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnesses, and the remainder at Constantinonle (Syropulus, p. 127.).

⁶⁷ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283.); yet he relates some suspicious circumstances: and their bribery and corruption are possively affirmed by the historian Fras.

LXVI.

CHAR East and West, would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff . In the first private affembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members; but the five cross-bearers of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments and those of their country. Demetrius, the Emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himfelf the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed 69. In the treaty between the two nations, feveral forms of confent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins, without dishonouring the Greeks: and they weighed the scruples of words and fyllables. till the theological balance trembled with a flight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. was agreed (I must entreat the attention of the

68 The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual flavery (Syropul. p. 196.); and they were firongly moved by

the Emperor's threats (p. 260.).

reader),

⁶⁹ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protester; a favourite hound, who usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the Emperor's throne ; but who barked most furiously while the act of union was reading, without being filenced by the foothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 265, 266.).

reader), that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the CHAP. Father and the Son, as from one principle and LXVI. one substance; that he proceeds by the Son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father and the Son, by one fpiration and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the Pope should defray all the expences of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two gallies and three hundred foldiers for the defence of Conflantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem should be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the Pope should furnish ten gallies for a year, or twenty for fix months; and that he should powerfully folicit the princes of Europe, if the Emperor had occasion for land-forces.

The fame year, and almost the same day, were Eugenius marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil; deposed at and, at Florence, by his re-union of the Greeks Bafil, A.D. and Latins. In the former fynod (which he ftyled 25. indeed an affembly of dæmons), the pope was branded with the guilt of fimony, perjury, tyranny, herefy, and fchifin 10; and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclefiaftical office. In the latter he was revered as the true Reunion of and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation the Greeks at Florence,

A D. 1438, July 6.

⁷º From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. p. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His fituation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a reftraint, and is a pledge.

CHAP. of fix hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West, in one fold, and under one shepherd. The act of union was fubfcribed by the Pope, the Emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus 71, had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have fufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not fatisfied, unless four authentic and fimilar transcripts were figned and attested as the monuments of his victory 72. On a memorable day, the fixth of July, the fuccessors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations affembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, Cardinal Julian and Bessarion Archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced, in the name and the prefence of the applauding brethren. The Pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chaunted with the addition of filioque; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarti-

⁷¹ Syropulus, rather than fubicribe, would have affifted, as the leaft evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the Emperor

(p. 290-292.). None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS, that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London) nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek fignatures. Yet feveral of these may be effected as authentic copies, which were subfcribed at Florence, before (26th August 1439) the final separation of the Pope and Emperor (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xliii. p. 287-311.).

culate.

culate, founds 73; and the more scrupulous Latins CHAP. refused any public celebration of the Byzantine LXVI. rite. Yet the Emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their confent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they spared, and secretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephefus; and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the diffribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promifes: the Greeks, with less Their repomp and pride, returned by the fame road of turn to Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Con-tinople, ftantinople was fuch as will be described in the A.D. 1444, following chapter 74. The fuccess of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians and Æthiopians, were successively introduced to kiss the feet of the Roman pontisf, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These oriental embassies, unknown in the countries which they prefumed to reprefent 75, diffused over the West the same of Euge-

73 Hur de ws acomor edoner Duras (Syropul. p. 297.).

⁷⁺ In their return the Greeks converfed at Bologna with the ambaffadors of England; and after some questions and answers, these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).

⁷⁵ So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these re-unions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without success, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemannus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

CHAP. nius: and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was fucceeded by the laffitude of despair: the council of Bafil was filently diffolved; and Fœlix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille76. Ageneral peace was fecured by mutual acts of oblivion A.D.1449. and indemnity: all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercife and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been fince diffurbed by the mischiefs of a contested election 77.

Final peace of the church,

State of the Greek language at Constantinople, A.D.1300 -I453.

The journies of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, falvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the sub-

76 Ripaille is fituate near Thonon in Savoy, on the fouthern fide of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthufian abbey; and Mr. Addison (Travels into Italy, vol. ii. p. 147-148 of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Bafil, applaud the auftere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

77. In this account of the councils of Bafil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xviith and xviiith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous though partial hiftory of Augustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (Bibliotheque Ecclef. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

jects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed C H A P. of a golden key that could unlock the treasures LXVI. of antiquity; of a mufical and prolific language, that gives a foul to the objects of fense, and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various Barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and fubstance of the national dialect; and ample gloffaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkish, Sclavonian, Latin, or French origin 78. But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian 79, who, by a long refidence and noble marriage so, was naturalized at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philel-

²⁸ In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a fecond edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandists, &c. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101. &c.). Some Perfic words may be found in Xenophon, and fome Latin ones in Plutarch; and fuch is the inevitable effect of war and commerce: but the form and fubstance of the language were not affected by this flight alloy.

⁷⁹ The Life of Francis Philelphus, a fophift, proud, reftless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (Memoires de l'Academie des Inferiptions, tom. x. p. 691-751.) and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282-294.) for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epiftles still describe the men and the times.

Eo He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, the grand-daughter of Manuel Chrysoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the Emperors of Constantinople.

CHAP. phus ", " has been depraved by the people, and " infected by the multitude of strangers and " merchants, who every day flock to the city " and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from " the disciples of such a school that the La-" tin language received the verfions of Aristotle " and Plato; fo obscure in sense, and in spirit " fo poor. But the Greeks who have escaped " the contagion, are those whom we follow; " and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In " familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue " of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the histo-" rians and philosophers of Athens; and the " ftyle of their writings is still more elaborate " and correct. The perfons who, by their birth " and offices, are attached to the Byzantine " court, are those who maintain, with the least " alloy, the ancient flandard of elegance and of purity; and the native graces of language " most conspicuously shine among the noble " matrons, who are excluded from all intercourfe with foreigners. With foreigners do "I fay? They live retired and fequeftered " from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they feen in the streets; and when

³¹ Græci quibus lingua depravata non sit ita loquuntur vulgo hâc etiam tempestate ut Aristophanes comicus, aut Euripides tragicus, ut oratores omnes ut historiographi ut philosophi litterati autem homines et doctius et emendatius . . . Nam viri aulici veterem sermonis dignitatem atque elegantiam retinebant in primifque ipfæ nobiles mulieres; quibus cum nullum effet omnino cum viris peregrinis commercium, merus ille ac purus Græcorum fermo fervabatur intactus (Philelph. Epist. ad ann. 1451, apud Hodium, p. 188, 189.). He obferves in another paffage, uxor illa mea Theodora locutione erat admodum moderata et fuavi et maxime Attica.

" they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of CHAP. evening, on visits to their churches and their

" nearest kindred. On these occasions they are

" on horseback, covered with a veil, and en-

compassed by their parents, their husbands, or

46 their fervants 82,"

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the fervice of religion: their monks and bishops have ever been diftinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priefts, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion. the laziness, and the discord of the church and cloyfter, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the facred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclefiaftics prefided over the education of youth; the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople, than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West 83. But an important distinction has been Comparialready noticed; the Greeks were stationary or fon of the retrograde, while the Latins where advancing with Latins. a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emula-

⁸² Philelphus, abfurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealoufy from the manners of ancient Rome.

⁸³ See the state of learning in the xiiith and xivth centuries, in the learned and judicious Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 434-440. 490-494.).

LXVI.

CHAP. tion; and even the little world of the Italian states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of fociety were relieved from the yoke of feudal fervitude; and freedom is the first step to curiofity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by superfition; the univerfities, from Bologna to Oxford 84, were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their mifguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the refurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of fentiment, flowed from the fludy and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the fanctuary of their Grecian mafters. In the fack of Conftantinople, the French, and eventhe Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lyfippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a fingle blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and fuch copies it was the am-

bition

⁸⁴ At the end of the xvth century, there existed in Europe about fifty univerlities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their fcarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 fludents, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6000 scholars (Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478.). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

bition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and c HAP. understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the slight of the muses; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism, that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds, before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

tury have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many ltaly. hundred years 5. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some prosound scholars, who in the darker ages were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth must observe, that their science is without a cause, and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their

more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had fo marveloufly acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth cen-Revival of ry have confessed and applauded the restoration the Greek learning in

⁸⁵ Of those writers who professedly treat of the restoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Græcis Illustribus, Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus; Londini, 1742. in large octavo), and Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii. p. 112—143.). The Oxford professor is a laborious scholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the superiority of a modern and national historian.

CHAP. of Italy, it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect so. The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erazed: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Conftantinople; and the Monks of St. Bafil purfued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a fectary and an ambaffador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer 87. He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace *s, as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a flow and painful elo-For many ages (as they affirm) Greece cution. had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the atteftations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the Emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adversaries, is forced to allow, that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato,

Leffons of Barlaam, A.D. 1339.

⁸⁶ In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Græcis repleta, remansit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2.). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Basil, who possessed seven convents at Rossano alone (Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 520.).

³⁷ Ii Barbari (fays Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libros fed nomen Homeri audiverunt. Perhaps, in that refpect, the xiith century was less happy than the age of Charlemagne.

^{- 33} See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Genealog. Deorum, I. xv. c. 6.

were familiar to that profound and fubtle lo- CHAP. gician 89. In the court of Avignon, he formed LXVI. an intimate connection with Petrarch 92, the first of the Latin scholars; and the defire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with Studies of eager curiofity and affiduous diligence to the Petrarch, A.D. 1339 fludy of the Greek language; and in a laborious __1374. ftruggle with the dryneis and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the fenfe, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers, whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was foon deprived of the fociety and leffons of this useful assistant: Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embaffy; and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the fwarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally fettled in a fmall bishopric of his native Calabria 91. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his

⁸⁹ Cantacuzen. 1. ii. c. 36.

⁹⁰ For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two inferviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, fee the excellent Memoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 406-410. tom. ii. P. 75-77.

⁹¹ The bishopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locri, in the middle ages Scta. Cyriaca, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (Differt. Chorographica Italiæ medii Ævi. p. 312.). The dives opum of the Norman times foon lapfed into poverty, fince even the church was poor: yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, P. 340.).

THE DECLINE AND FALL 122 CHAP. various correspondence and frequent journies, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in profe and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambaffador, his friend, and a mafter of both tongues, prefented him with a copy of Homer; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generofity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: "Your present of the genuine and original text " of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, "is-worthy of yourfelf and of me: you have " fulfilled your promife, and fatisfied my defires." "Yet your liberality is still imperfect: with " Homer you should have given me yourself; a "guide, who could lead me into the fields of "light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the " spacious miracles of the Iliad and Odyssey. "But, alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor " is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I " posses. I have seated him by the side of Plato, "the prince of poets near the prince of philoso-

" phers; and I glory in the fight of my illustrious " guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever " had been translated into the Latin idiom, I had

" already acquired; but if there be no profit, "there is fome pleafure, in beholding thefe

" venerable Greeks in their proper and national

" habit.

"habit. I am delighted with the aspect of CHAP. "Homer; and as often as I embrace the filent LXVI.

" volume, I exclaim with a figh, Illustrious bard!

" with what pleafure should I listen to thy fong,

" if my fense of hearing were not obstructed and

" loft by the death of one friend, and in the

" much lamentable absence of another! Nor do

" I yet despair; and the example of Cato sug-

" gests some comfort and hope, since it was in

"the last period of age that he attained the

"knowledge of the Greek letters 92."

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch, Of Bocwas obtained by the fortune and industry of his cace, A.D. 1360, friend Boccace 93, the father of the Tufcan profe. &c. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleafantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praife of reftoring in Italy the ftudy of the Greek language. In the year one thouland three hundred and fixty, a disciple of Barlaam, whose name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hofpitality of Boccace, who lodged the ftranger in

⁹² I will transcribe a passage from this epistle of Petratch (Famil. ix. 2.): Donasti Homerum non in alienum sermonem violento alveo derivatum, fed ex ipfis Græci eloquii fcatebris, et qualis divino illi profluxit ingenio Sine tuâ voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum furdus fum. Gaudeo tamen vel adfpectú folo, ac fæpe illum amplexus atque fuspirans dico, O magne vir, &c.

⁹³ For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboschi (tom. v. p. 83. 439-451.) may be consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps scandalous, work to Petrarch, his respectable friend, in whose letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.

LXVI.

Leo Pilatus, first Greek profeffor at Florence and in the West, A. D. 1360 -I363.

C H AP. his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the Western countries of Europe, The appearance of Leo might difgust the most eager disciple; he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment ruftic: his temper gloomy and inconstant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments, or even the perspicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treafure of Greek learning; hiftory and fable, philofophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the fucceeding century, was clandeftinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatife on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age of stupendous erudition, and which he oftentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers 94. The first steps

⁹⁴ Boccace indulges an honest vanity; Ostentationis causa Græca carmina adscripsi....jure utor meo; meum est hoc decus mea gloria scilicet inter Etruscos Græcis uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, &c. (de Genealogia Deorum, l. xv. c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions). of

of learning are flow and laborious; no more than CHAP. ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all LXVI. Italy; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a fingle name to this fludious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progrefs would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not. relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his paffage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a fhort time; he enjoyed the fcholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unfocial temper of the man. Discontented with the world and with himfelf, Leo depreciated his prefent enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Thessalian, in Greece a native of Calabria: in the company of the Latins he disdained their language, religion, and manners; no fooner washe landed at Constantinople, than he again fighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curiofity and indulgence, and embarked on a fecond voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was affailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the maft, was flruck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropt a tear on his disaster; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be faved from the hands of the mariners os.

But

⁹⁵ Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is sufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2—11.) and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 625

Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chryfoloras,

A.D. 1390 —1415.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning. which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, foon withered and expired. The fucceeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century, that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy 96. Previous to his own journey, the Emperor Manuel dispatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous, or the most learned, was Manuel Chryfoloras 97, of noble birth, and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained fome contributions and more promifes, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor: and Florence had again the honour of this fecond invitation. By his knowledge not only of the Greek, but of the Latin tongue, Chryfoloras deferved the stipend, and surpassed the expectation of the republic. His school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank

-634.670-673.) who has very happily caught the lively and dramatic manner of his original.

97 See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chryfoloras, in Hody (p. 12-54) and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. p. 113-118.). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is

only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

and

⁹⁶ Dr. Hody (p. 54.) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, &c. for affirming, that the Greek letters were reftored in Italy post septingentos annos; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the viith century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate; and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome, must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

and age; and one of thefe, in a general history, CHAP. has described his motives and his success. "At "that time," fays Leonard Aretin 98, "I was " a fludent of the civil law; but my foul was " inflamed with the love of letters; and I be-" flowed some application on the sciences of " logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Ma-" nuel I hefitated whether I should defert my " legal fludies, or relinquish this golden op-" portunity; and thus, in the ardour of youth, " I communed with my own mind — Wilt thou " be wanting to thyfelf and thy fortune? Wilt ce thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar " converse with Homer, Plato, and Demos-" thenes? with those poets, philosophers, and " orators of whom fuch wonders are related, " and who are celebrated by every age as the " great masters of human science? Of pro-" feffors and fcholars in civil law, a fufficient 66 fupply will always be found in our universi-"ties; but a teacher, and fuch a teacher of " the Greek language, if he once be fuffered " to escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. " Convinced by these reasons, I gave myself " to Chryfoloras; and fo ftrong was my paf-" fion, that the leffons which I had imbibed " in the day were the conftant subject of my

⁹⁹ The name of Aretinus has been affumed by five or fix natives of Arezzo in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the xvith century. Leonardus, Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 190, &c. Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 33—38.)

[&]quot; nightly

CHAP. " nightly dreams "." At the same time and place, the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch 100: the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school; and Florence became the fruitful feminary of Greek and Roman erudition 101. The presence of the Emperor recalled Chryfoloras from the college to the court, but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Conftantinople, between embaffies and leffons. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more facred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chryfoloras died at Constance on a public mission from the Emperor to the council.

in Italy, A. D. 1400 -I 500.

The Greek After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was profecuted by a feries of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language.

> See the passage in Arctin. Commentario Rerum suo Tempore in Italia Gestarum, apud Hodium, p. 28-30.

> In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curiofity, reftless temper, and proud feelings which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700-709.).

> 101 Hinc Græcæ Latinæque scholæ exortæ sunt, Guarino Philelpho, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac plerisque aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum emulatione multa ingenia deinceps at laudem excitata funt (Platina in Bonifacio IX.). Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciscus Barbarus, &c. But I question whether a rigid chronology would allow Chryfoloras all these eminent scholars (Hodius, p. 25-27, &c.).

From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms, CHAP. the natives of Theffalonica and Conftantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiofity, and wealth. The fynod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy: and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Christian, but for the Catholic, cause. A patriot, who facrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of favour, may be possessed however of the private and focial virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of flave and apostate; and the confideration which he acquires among his new affociates, will reftore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent con- Cardinal formity of Bessarion was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his refidence in Italy, and the Greek Cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation 102: his abilities were exercifed in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave 103. His ecclefiaftical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and fervice: his palace

Beffarion,

102 See in Hody the article of Beffarion (p. 136-177.). Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the rest of the Greeks, whom I have named or omitted, are inferted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewife Tiraboschi, in the 1st and 2d parts of the vith tome.

103 The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavift refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion; "Nicholas," faid he, "thy respect " has cost thee an hat, and me the tiara."

LXVI.

CHAP. was a school; as often as the Cardinal visited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations 104; of men applauded by themselves and the public; and whose writings, now overfpread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the reftorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Besfarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the fecret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure; they had declined the lucrative paths of the church: their drefs and manners fecluded them from the commerce of the world; and fince they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Lascaris 105 will deserve an exception. His eloquence, politeness, and im-

Their faults and merits.

> 104 Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus Andronicus of Thellalonica, Philelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (fays Hody with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156.).

¹⁰⁵ He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honourable life was stretched far into the xvith century (A.D. 1535.). Leo X. and Francis I. were his nobleft patrons, under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247-275.). He left posterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris from a doubtful marriage in the xiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant, p. 224-230.).

monarchs; and in the fame cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negociate. Duty and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language: and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with sluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their same and subsistence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the ora-

tory of Tully 105. The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation 107, which they intro-

1:6 Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved and refuted by Franciscus Floridus, who can find no better names than Græculus ineptus et impudens (Hody, p. 274.). In our own times, an English critic has accused the Æneid of containing multa languida, nugatoria, spiritû et majestate carminis heroici desecta; many such verses as he, the said Jeremiah Markland, would have been

ashamed of owning, (præfat. ad Statii Sylvas, p. 21, 22.).

¹⁰⁷ Emanuel Chryfoloras, and his colleagues, are accused of ignorance, envy, or avarice (Sylloge, &c. tom. ii. p. 235.). The modern Greeks pronounce the β as a V consonant, and consound three vowels (n, v), and several diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the stern Gardiner maintained by penal statutes in the university of Cambridge; but the monosyllable βn represented to an Attic ear the bleating of sheep, and a bellweather is better evidence than a bishop or a chancellor. The treatises of those scholars, particularly Erasmus, who afferted a more classical pronunciation, are collected in the Sylloge of Havercamp, 2 vols. in octavo, (Lugd. Bat. 1736, 1740.):

perial descent, recommended him to the French C HAP. monarchs; and in the same cities he was alter-

duced.

LXVI.

C HAP. duced, was banished from the schools by the reafon of the fucceeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant, and those mufical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, must have been the secret soul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than minute and unmeaning marks, in profe fuperfluous, and troublesome in verse. The art of grammar they truly possessed: the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were transfused into their lessons; and their treatises of fyntax and etymology, though devoid of philosophic spirit, are still useful to the Greek student. In the shipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive feized a fragment of treasure, a copy of fome author, who, without his industry, might have perished; the transcripts were multiplied by an affiduous, and fometimes an elegant pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or those of the elder scholiasts. The fense, though not the spirit, of the Greek classics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of ftyle evaporate in a version; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza felected the more folid works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and their natural histories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental science.

The Platonic philofophy.

Yet the fleeting flundows of metaphyfics were purfued with more curiofity and ardour. After a

but it is difficult to paint founds by words; and in their reference to modern use, they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe, that our peculiar pronunciation of the θ th, is approved by Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 130.).

long oblivion. Plato was revived in Italy by a CHAP. venerable Greek 108, who taught in the house of Cosmo of Medicis. While the fynod of Florence was involved in theological debate, fome beneficial confequences might flow from the fludy of his elegant philosophy; his ftyle is the purest standard of the Attic dialect; and his sublime thoughts are fometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a fage; and as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral fystem inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry: and if the Platonifts, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine mafter, their enthufiasm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Ariftotle, that they may be balanced in endless controversy; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collifion of adverse fervitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two fects: with more fury than skill-they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophical debate foon degenerated into

¹⁰⁸ George Gemisshus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Bessarion, and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus. See the curious diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 739—756.).

LXVI.

CHAP. an angry and perfonal quarrel of grammarians; and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned: but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved; and if the writings of the Attic fage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign the oracle of the church and school 109. I have fairly represented the literary merits of

Emulation and progress of the Latins.

the Greeks; yet it must be confessed that they were feconded and furpaffed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states; and at that time, it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the Fifth 120 has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin, he raifed himfelf by his virtue and learning: the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope; and he sharpened those weapons which

NicholasV: A.D. 1447 - I455·

> 109 The state of the Platonic philosophy in Italy, is illustrated by Boivin (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 715-729.). and Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P.i. p. 259-288.).

> were foon pointed against the Roman church ".

110 See the Life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, Janottus Manettus (tom. iii. P. ii. p. 905-962.) and Vespasian of Florence (tom. xxv. p. 267-290.) in the collection of Muriator; and confult Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 46-52. 109.) and Hody in the articles of Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, &c.

III Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes in this instance were worse politicians than the mustis, and that the charm which had bound mankind for so many ages, was broken by the magicians themselves (Letters on the Study of History, I. vi. p. 165, 166, octavo edition, 1779.).

He had been the friend of the most eminent CHAP. fcholars of the age: he became their patron; and LXVI. fuch was the humility of his manners, that the change was fcarcely difcernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of defert, . but as the proof of benevolence; and when modest merit declined his bounty, " accept it," would he fay with a consciousness of his own worth; " you will not always have a Nicholas " among ye." The influence of the holy fee pervaded Christendom; and he exerted that influence in the fearch, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dufty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the only repository for bulls and legends, for supersition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture; and fuch was the industry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman Pontiff was Cosmo and preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, Medicis, who governed the republic without arms and A.D.1428 without -1492.

LXVI.

CHAP. without a title. Cosmo of Medicis 112 was a father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the fervice of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London: and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandfon Lorenzo rendered him not only a patron, but a judge and candididate, in the literary race. In his palace, diffrefs was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leifure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary Janus Lascaris returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe 113. The rest of Italy was animated by a fimilar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature: and these disciples of Greece were

¹¹² See the literary history of Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i.l. i. c. 2.), who bestows a due measure of praise on Alphonio of Arragon, King of Naples, the Dukes of Milan, Ferrara. Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deserved the least from the gratitude of scholars.

¹¹³ Tiraboschi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 104.) from the preface of Janus Lascaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Latebant (fays Aldus in his preface to the Greek orators, apud Hodium, p. 249.) in Atho Thraciæ monte. Eas Lafcaris . . . in Italiam reportavit. Miserat enim ipsum Laurentius ille Medices in Græciam ad inquirendos fimul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the research was facilitated by Sultan Bajazet II.

foon capable of transmitting and improving the CHAP. lessons which they had imbibed. After a short LXVI. fuccession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subfided; but the language of Constantinople was fpread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England 114, imparted to their country the facred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and In the productions of the mind, as in those of the foil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Iliffus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames: and Bessarion or Gaza might have envied the fuperior science of the Barbarians; the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske, or of Bentley. On the fide of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a cafual advantage: but this useful art has been applied by Aldus and his innumerable fucceffors. to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity 116. A fingle manuscript imported from Greece

The Greek language was introduced into the univerfity of Oxford in the last years of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Erasmus. Although a stout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge that Erasmus learned

Greek at Oxford and taught it at Cambridge.

115 The jealous Italians were defirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publish the Greek scholiasts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (say they), cave, hoc facias, ne Barbari issis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Erasmus, p. 365. from Beatus Rhenanus).

116 The press of Aldus Manutus, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494; he printed above fixty considerable works of Greek

LXVI.

CHAP. Greece is revived in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more fatisfaction their own writings: and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labours of our Western editors.

Use and abuse of ancient learning.

Before the revival of classic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immerfed in ignorance: and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The fludents of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity: and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who fpoke the fublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste and to elevate the genius of the moderns; and yet, from the first experiments, it might appear that the fludy of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a fervile cast; and the first difciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times, might

Greek literature, almost all for the first time; several containing different treatifes and authors, and of feveral authors two, three or four editions (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 605, &c.). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget, that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476: and that the Florence Homer of 1488 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the Annales Typographici of Mattaire, and the Bibliographie Instructive of de Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

have

have improved or adorned the present state of CHAP. fociety: the critic and metaphyfician were the LXVI. flaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and some Pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato 117. The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a croud of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves; but in that æra of learning, it will not be eafy to difcern a real difcovery of fcience, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country 118. But as foon as it had been deeply faturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a

I will felect three fingular examples of this claffic enthufiasm.

1. At the fynod of Florence, Gemistus Pletho said, in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospel and the Koran, for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.).

2. Paul II. persecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and paganism (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P.i. p. 81, 82.).

3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the success of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a festival of Bacchus, and, as it is said, by the facristice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionaire, JODELLE, Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 56—61.). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in the sportive play of fancy and learning.

The survivor of Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the composition of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci, and the Orlando Inamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi.

P. ii. p. 174-177.).

CHAP. generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleafing reign of poetry and fiction was fucceeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the feafon of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predeceffors.

CHAP. LXVII.

Schism of the Greeks and Latins.—Reign and Character of Amurath the Second.—Crusade of Ladislaus King of Hungary.—His Defeat and Death .- John Huniades .- Scanderbeg. -Constantine Palæologus last Emperor of the East.

THE respective merits of Rome and Con- CHAP. ftantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian Comparifchools . The view of the ancient capital, the fon of Rome and feat of his ancestors, surpassed the most fanguine Constantiexpectations of Emanuel Chryfoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old fophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods, and those men, had long fince vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the confuls and Cæfars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth.

The Epistle of Emanuel Chrysoloras to the Emperor John Palæologus will not offend the eye or ear of a claffical student (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P. p.107-126.). The superscription fuggefts a chronological remark that John Palæologus II. was affociated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chrysoloras's death. A still earlier date, at least 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngest sons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both Porphyrogeniti (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 244. 247.). While

CHAP.

While Chryfoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth, on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the fuperior merit of their children. "ftantinople," fays the orator, "is fituate on a " commanding point, between Europe and Afia, " between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By "her interposition, the two seas, and the two " continents, are united for the common benefit " of nations; and the gates of commerce may " be flut or opened at her command. The har-" bour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and " the continent, is the most secure and capacious " in the world. The walls and gates of Constan-" tinople may be compared with those of Baby-" lon: the towers are many; each tower is a folid " and lofty structure; and the second wall, the " outer fortification, would be fufficient for the " defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A " broad and rapid stream may be introduced into " the ditches; and the artificial island may be " encompassed like Athens 2, by land or water." Two

² Somebody observed, that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (τις ειπεν την πολιν των Αθηναιών δυνασθαι και παραπλειν και περιπλειν).

Two ftrong and natural causes are alleged for CHAP. the perfection of the model of new Rome. The LXVII. royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and in the accomplishment of his defigns, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with diforder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to move from their natal fpot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors, and the original vices of fituation or climate. But the free idea of Conftantinople was formed and executed by a fingle mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the fubjects and fucceffors of the first monarch. The adjacent ifles were flored with an inexhauftible fupply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia; and the public and private buildings, and palaces, churches, aqueducts, cifterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The fuperfluity of wealth was fpread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be confidered as a populous fuburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully con-

περιπλειν). But what may be true in a rhetorical fense of Constantinople, cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by any navigable streams.

founded;

CHAP. founded; but a figh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient fculpture had been defaced by Christian zeal or barbaric violence; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the fize was determined by a broken capital: the tombs of the emperors were fcattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by ftorms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and filver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he diftinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian3, and the church, more especially the dome, of St. Sophia; the best conclusion, fince it could not be described according to its merits, and after it no other object could deserve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a century before, the trembling fabrics of the coloffus and the church had been faved and supported by the timely care of Andronicus the elder. Thirty years after the Emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttreffes or pyra-

³ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the Colossus of Justinian (1. vii. 12.): but his measures are false and inconsistent. The editor Boivin confulted his friend Cirardon; and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equestrian statue. That of Justinian was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column, but in the outward court of the seraglio; and he was at Constantinople when it was melted down, and cast into a brass cannon (de Topograph, C. P. l. ii. c. 17.).

mids, the Eastern hemisphere suddenly gave CHAP. way; and the images, the altars, and the fanc- LXVII. tuary, were crushed by the falling ruin. The mischief indeed was speedily repaired; the rubbish was cleared by the incessant labour of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and industry were confecrated by the Greeks to the most stately and venerable temple of the Eaft.

A. D. 1440

The last hope of the falling city and empire The Greek was placed in the harmony of the mother and after the daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome, council of and the filial obedience of Constantinople. the fynod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins -1448. had embraced, and fubscribed, and promised; but these figns of friendship were perfidious or fruitless; and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream . The Emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian gallies: but as they touched at the Morea and the ifles of

^{*} See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xv. 2.). The building was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eastern hemisphere fell in 1345. The Greeks in their pompous rhetoric, exalted the beauty and holiness of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himself, &c.

⁵ The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312-351.) opens the schism from the first office of the Greeks at Venice, to the general opposition at Constantinople of the clergy and people.

⁶ On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Laonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. p. 155, 156.), and Ducas (c. 31.); the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may diffinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, &c. 401. 420, &c.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1440-30.). The fenfe of the latter is drowned in projudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

CHAP. Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an inftrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore, than they were faluted, or rather affailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclefiaftical rulers: fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. fore his departure for Italy, the Emperor had flattered the city with the affurance of a prompt relief and a powerful fuccour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promifed themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public refentment, than they could hope from the favour of the Emperor or the Pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. the reproachful question, what had been the event or use of their Italian fynod? they answered with fighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a " new faith; we have exchanged piety for im-" piety; we have betrayed the immaculate facri-" fice; and we are become Azymites." (The Azymites

Azymites were those who celebrated the com. CHAP. munion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times). " Alas! we have been feduced by diffrefs, by " fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transi-"tory life. The hand that has figned the union " should be cut off; and the tongue that has "pronounced the Latin creed deferves to be "torn from the root," The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preferved fome regard for honour and confiftency. the decease of the Patriarch Joseph, the Archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and Cardinal Bessarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the Emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus: he was confecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their fervice; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes difcharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephefus, the champion of his country; and the fufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious difcord; age and infirmity foon removed him from

CHAP. the world; but the Gospel of Mark was not a law of forgiveness; and he requested with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his soul.

Zeal of the Orientals and Ruffians.

The fchism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamaluke sceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, affembled a numerous fynod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the Emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Ruffians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. Their primate, the Cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow, to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at Mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priefts. They were fcandalized by the title, the pomp, the Latin cross of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Isidore was condemned by afynod; his person was imprisoned in a monaftery; and it was with extreme difficulty,

that

⁷ Isidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks subject to Poland, have removed that see from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg, or Leopold (Herbestein, in Ramusio, tom. ii. p. 127.). On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedience to the Archbishop; who became, in 1588, the Patriarch of Moscow (Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. iii. p. 188. 190. from a Greek MS: at Turin, Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Arsenii).

that the cardinal could escape from the hands of CHAP. a fierce and fanatic people 8. The Ruffians re- LXVII. fused a passage to the missionaries of Rome who aspired to convert the pagans beyond the Tanaiso; and their refusal was justified by the maxim, that the guilt of idolatry is less damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy folicited the friendfhip of those fanguinary enthusiasts 10. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest; it was foon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be deftitute of foreign and domestic aid. The fword of

The curious narrative of Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 242 -247.) is extracted from the patriarchal archives. The scenes of Ferrara and Florence are described by ignorance and passion; but the Ruffians are credible in the account of their own prejudices.

⁹ The Shamanism, the ancient religion of the Samanæans and Gymnosophists, has been driven by the more popular Bramins from India into the northern deferts; the naked philosophers were compelled to wrap themselves in fur; but they insensibly funk into wizards and physicians. The Mordvans and Tcheremisses in the European Russia adhere to this religion, which is formed on the earthly model of one king or God, his ministers or angels, and the rebellious spirits who oppose his government. As these tribes of the Volga have no images, they might more justly retort on the Latin missionaries the name of idolaters (Levesque, Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination des Russes, tom. i. p. 194-237. 423-460.).

¹⁰ Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. tom. ii. A. D. 1451, No 13. The Epistle of the Greeks, with a Latin version, is extant in the collegelibrary at Prague.

CHAP. his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular filence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the feeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

Reign and character of Amurath II. A.D. 1421-1451,

"Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, " and reigned thirty years, fix months, and eight "days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a " great foul, patient of labours, learned, merci-"ful, religious, charitable; a lover and encou-February 9. " rager of the fludious, and of all who excelled " in any art or science; a good Emperor, and "a great general. No man obtained more " or greater victories than Amurath: Belgrade " alone withflood his attacks. Under his reign, the foldier was ever victorious, the citizen " rich and fecure. If he fubdued any country, " his first care was to build moschs and caravan-" feras, hospitals, and colleges. Every year he " gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons " of the prophet; and fent two thousand five " hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, "Medina, and Jerusalem"." This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire: but the applause of a servile and superfittious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants, and the virtues of a fultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to

[&]quot; See Cantemir, History of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct, but I have preferred the popular name, to that obscure diligence which is rarely successful in translating an Oriental, into the Roman alphabet. his

his subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal CHAP. benefits of liberty and law, must be awed by the LXVII. flashes of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice; his profusion, of liberality; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible; and guilt must tremble, where innocence cannot always be fecure. The tranquillity of the people, and the discipline of the troops, were best maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the Janizaries; and those who survived the peril, and divided the spoil, applauded the generous ambition of their fovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Mufulman: the unbelievers were his enemies, and those of the prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the fcymetar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Christians themselves; who consider a profperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his fingular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he feldom engaged in a war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious fultan was difarmed by fubmission; and in the observance of treaties, his word was inviolate and facred 12. The Hungarians were commonly the aggreffors; he was

¹² See Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 186. 198.), Ducas (c. 33.), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145, 146.). In his good faith towards the garrison of Sfetigrade, he was a lesson and example to his fon Mahomet.

LXVII.

CHAP. provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg: and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquished. and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been furprifed by the despot; in the conquest of Thef. falonica, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians; and after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the diffress, the absence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

His double abdication, A.D. 1442 --- I444.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath, is the double abdication of the Turkish throne; and, were not his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher 13, who at the age of forty could discern the vanity of human greatness. Refigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleafant refidence of Magnefia; but he retired to the fociety of faints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an inftitution fo adverse to his genius; but in the age of the crusades, the various orders of Dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks14. The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round in

¹³ Voltaire (Effai fur l'Hiftoire Generale, c. 29. p. 283, 284.) admires le Philosophe Turc; would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

¹⁴ See the articles Dervische, Fakir, Nasser, Robbaniat, in D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale. Yet the subject is superficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook CHAP. the giddiness of the head for the illumination of LXVII. the spirit 15. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm, by the Hungarian invasion: and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round to his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and flaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his prefence to appeale the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their mafter, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant fultan was compelled to support his splendid fervitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or difease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted feveral princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leifure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and folitude, has repeated his preference of a private life.

¹⁵ Rycaut (in the present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242—268.) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom ascribed their origin to the time or Orchan. He does not mention the Zichidæ of Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 286.), among whom Amurath retired: the Seids of that author are the descendants of Mahomet.

CHAP. LXVII. Eugenius forms a league Turks, A.D. 1448.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just appreagainst the hension of the Turks, who approached, and might foon invade the borders of Italy. But the foirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Afia for the recovery of the holy fepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the most preffing motives of religion and policy were infufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. many was an inexhaustible store-house of men and arms 16; but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animofity, of France and England 17: but Philip, Duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without

> 16 In the year 1431, Germany raised 40,000 horse, men at arms. against the Hussites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Basse, tom. i. p. 318.). At the fiege of Nuys, on the Rhine, in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities, fent their respective quotas : and the Bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l.iv. c. 2.). At present, fix or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline, by the powers of Germany.

> 17 It was not till the year 1444, that France and England could agree on a truce of fome months (See Rymer's Fædera, and the chronicles

of both nations).

danger

danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his CHAP. fubjects, who failed, in a gallant fleet, from the LXVII. coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action; and their hoftile fleets were affociated under the flandard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those fwords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining aftanding force; and the loofe bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the fentiments and weapons which, on fome occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this fide, the defigns of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times 18; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus 19, a young

¹⁸ In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 1443, 1444) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

¹⁹ I have curtailed the harfh letter (Wladiflaus) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation,

LXVII.

CHAP, and ambitious foldier; by the valour of an hero. whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians, and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgencies was fcattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlifted under the holy banner: and the crusade derived some strength, or at least. fome reputation, from the new allies both of Europe and Afia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the diftress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimoufly rife to vindicate the religion and liberty. The Greek Emperor 20, with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to fally from Conftantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The Sultan of Caramania 21 announced the retreat of Amurath. and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the streights of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be diffevered and deftroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and

> or to diftinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 447-486.), Bonfinius (Decad. iii. l. iv.), Spondanus. and Lenfant.

> 21 The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he feems to have promoted by his wishes, and injured by his fears.

21 Cantemir (p. 88.) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and tranfcribes his animating epiftle to the King of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are feldom informed of the state of Christendom; and the fituation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the Sultan of Caramania.

the legate, with prudent ambiguity, inftilled the CHAP. opinion of the invifible, perhaps the vifible, aid LXVII. of the Son of God, and his divine mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious Ladislaus. war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after King of paffing the Danube, led an army of his confede- Hungary, rate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the marches Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they them. obtained two fignal victories, which were juftly ascribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men. he furprifed the Turkish camp; in the fecond, he vanguished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus, arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days march from the foot of the mountains to the hoftile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed: and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclefiaftical proceffion was followed by the King and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Chriftianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives, were unquestionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of

Poland and

battle.

LXVII. The Tur-

CHAP. battle22. The most folid proof, and the most falutary confequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to folicit peace, to reftore Servia, kish peace. to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the King, the Despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were fatisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who fwore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharift, the real presence of the Catholic deity; but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible symbols, of an oath23.

Violation of the peace, A.D. 1444.

During the whole transaction, the cardinal legate had observed a fullen filence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the confent of the King and people. But the diet was not diffolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek, Emperor: that

²² In their letters to the Emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians flay 300,000 Turks in one battle, but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000 or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5. and epist. 44. 81. apud Spondanum.).

²³ See the origin of the Turkish war, and the first expedition of Ladiflaus, in the vth and vith books of the iiid Decad of Bonfinius, who in his division and style, copies Livy with tolerable success. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487-496.), is still more pure and authentic.

the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were CHAP. masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, in- LXVII. formed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal24, " that you will defert their " expectations and your own fortune? It is to "them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, "that you have pledged your faith; and that " prior obligation annihilates a rash and facrile-"gious oath to the enemies of Christ. His "vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without " whose fanction you can neither promise nor e perform. In his name I absolve your perjury " and fanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in "the paths of glory and falvation; and if still ye 4 have scruples, devolve on my head the punish-" ment and the fin." This mischievous casuistry was feconded by his respectable character, and the levity of popular affemblies: war was refolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been fworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were affaulted by the Christians; to whom, with fome reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falfehood of Ladiflaus to his word and oath, was palliated by the religion of the times: the most perfect, or at least the most po-

pular,

²⁴ I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 505—507.), Bonsinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the missortune of Warna.

CHAP. pular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience, had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhaufted by diftant warfare, and perhaps difgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence, and haftily retired to their provinces and caftles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the fecond expedition, were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that fometimes attended the fultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed, might admonish Ladislaus of his fecret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promife of new realms; and the inexperience of the King, the enthulialm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself, were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the fword and the crofs. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and fecure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according

to the Scythian discipline, might always be co- CHAP. vered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred; the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last station was at Warna, near the fea-shore; on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name 25.

It was on this fatal spot, that, instead of Battle of finding a confederate fleet to fecond their Warna, A.D.1444. operations, they were alarmed by the approach Nov, 10. of Amurath himfelf, who had iffued from his Magnefian folitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek Emperor had been awed, or feduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus, and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the Pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople, the fultan advanced by hafty marches at the head of fixty thousand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer furvey of the numbers and order of the Turks; thefe ardent warriors propofed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The

and party states on

²⁵ Warna, under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milefians, which they denominated from the hero Ulyffes (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. D'Anville, tom. i. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (p. 24, 25., in the 1st volume of Hudson's Geographers), it was fituate 1740 stadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of Mount Hæmus, which advances into the fea.

C H.A.P. King alone was refolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and falutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left, against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset. but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors. in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy, or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his fquadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire; a veteran Janizary feized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the foldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the slight, of his fovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is faid, that the Sultan in his diffres, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion 26. With inferior numbers and difordered ranks, the King of Hungary rushed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the If we may credit the Ottoman Janizaries.

annals,

²⁶ Some Christian writers affirm, that he drew from his bosom the hoft or wafer on which the treaty had not been fworn. The Moslems fuppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise infinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516. Spondan-A. D. 1444, N° 8.).

annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of CHAP. Amurath 27; he fell among the spears of the in- LXVII. fantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with Death of a loud voice, " Hungarians, behold the head of Ladillaus. "your king!" The death of Ladiflaus was the fignal of their defeat. On his return from anintemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss: he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to fave the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were flain in the difastrous battle of Warna: the loss of the Turks, more confiderable in numbers, bore a fmaller proportion to their total ftrength; yet the philosophic Sultan was not ashamed to confess. that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and fimilar victory. At his command a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaushad fallen; but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth 28.

Before

²⁷ A critic will always diffruft these *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517.) more simply and probably affirms, supervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tam confessus est, quam obrutus.

as Besides some valuable hints from Eneas Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our best authorities are three historians of the xvth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Vladislao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege gestis, libri iii. in Bel. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433—518.), Bonfinius (decad iii. l.v. p. 460—467.). and Chalcocondyles (l. iii. p. 165—179.). The two first were Italians, but they passed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et insimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324. Vossius, de

nal Julian.

CHAP. Before I lose fight of the field of Warna, I am tempted to pause on the character and story of The Cardi- two principal actors, the Cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian 10 Cæfarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his studies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the fciences of divinity and law; and his versatile genius was equally adapted to the fchools, the camp, and the court. No fooner had he been invested with the Roman purple, than he was fent into Germany to arm the empire against the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The spirit of persecution is unworthy of a Christian; the military profession ill becomes a priest; but the former is excufed by the times; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who ftood dauntless and alone in the difgraceful flight of the German hoft. As the Pope's legate, he opened the council of Bafil; but the prefident foon appeared the most ftrenuous champion of ecclefiaftical freedom. and an opposition of feven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the ftrongest measures against the authority and perfor of Eugenius, some secret motive of interest or conscience engaged him to desert on a sudden the popular party. The cardinal withdrew himfelf from Bafil to Ferrara; and, in the debates of

> Hift. Latin. 1. iii. c. 8. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, Bonfinius). Afmall tract of Fælix Petancius, Chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cufpinian. de Cæsaribus, p. 716-722.), represents the theatre of the war in the xvth century.

> 29 M. Lenfant has described the origin (Hist. du Concile de Basle, tom. i. p. 247, &c.), and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, &c.) of Cardinal Julian. His fervices at Bafil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occasionally related by Spondanus, and the continuator of Fleury.

the

the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired CHAP. the dexterity of his arguments and the depth of LXVII. his theological erudition 30. In his Hungarian embaffy, we have already feen the mischievous effects of his fophistry and eloquence, of which Julian himself was the first victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a priest and a soldier, was lost in the defeat of Warna. The circumstances of his death are variously related; but it is believed that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of some Christian fugitives.

From an humble, or at least a doubtful, origin, John Corthe merit of John Huniades promoted him to the vinius Hucommand of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the furname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might fuggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome 31. In his youth he ferved in the wars of Italy, and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the Bishop of Zagrab: the valour of the white knight 32 was foon

30 Syropulus honourably praifes the talents of an enemy (p. 117.): τοιαυτα τινα ειπεν ὁ Ιελιανος πεπλατυσμένως αγαν και λογικώς, και μετ ETTISTILING HOLL SELVOTOTOS PHTOGINAS.

³² Philip de Comines (Memoires, l. vi. c. 13.), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whim-M 3

³¹ See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian historian pronounce, or the King of Hungary hear, without a blufh, the abfurd flattery which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the casual, though glorious, epithet of a single branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

LXVII.

CHAP. foon confpicuous; he encreased his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders, he won in the fame year three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladiflaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important fervice was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public diftress the fatal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular King, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a confummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of defultory Barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse children, he was corruptly denominated Jancus Lain, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain of his country irrecoverably loft. Instead of confining himself

> fical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcocondyles, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius, presume to accuse his fidelity or valour.

to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of CHAP. Warna he again penetrated into the heart of Bul- LXVII. garia, and in the plain of Coffova fuftained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was furprifed by two robbers; but while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his fword, flew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, confoled by his prefence an affiicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade against the powers of Mahomet the Second in person. After Hisdefence a fiege of forty days, the Turks, who had already of Belentered the town, were compelled to retreat; and death, the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Bel- A.D. 1456, July 22. grade as the bulwarks of Christendom 33. About Sept. 4. a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who fighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the fingle antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: Matthias aspired to the glory of a con-

³³ See Bonfinius, (decad iii. I. viii. p. 492.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, N' 1-7.). Huniades shared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capiffran, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives, neither the faint nor the hero condescend to take notice of his rival's ment.

CHAP. queror and a faint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from Italy, by the fon, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character 34.

Birth and education of Scanderbeg, Prince A.D. 1404 -1413, &c.

. In the lifts of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly affociated 35: and they are both entitled to our notice, fince their occupaof Albania, tion of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg 36, was the hereditary prince of a small diffrict of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic fea. Unable to contend with the Sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute; he deli-

> 54 See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. viii. decad iv. l. viii. The observations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus are curious and critical (A. D. 1464, No1. 1475, No6, 1476, No 14-16. 1490, Nº 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p 322-412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wife and facetious fayings are registered by Galestus Martius of Narni (528-568.): and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. These three tracts are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bel's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

> They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleafing Effay on Heroic Virtue (Works, vol. iii. p. 385.), among the feven chiefs who have deferved, without wearing, a royal crown; Belifarius, Narfes, Gonfalvo of Cordova, William first Prince of Orange, Alexander Duke of Parma, John Humades, and George Castriot, or Scanderbeg.

> 36 I could wish for some simple authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vita, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c. libri xiii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gawdy and cumberfome robes are fluck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185. l. viii. p. 229.

> > vered

vered his four fons as the pledges of his fidelity; C H A P. and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcifion, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy 37. The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of flaves; and the poifon to which their deaths are afcribed, cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the fuspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Caftriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The fucceffive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (Iskender beg), or the Lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and fervitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province: but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He ferved with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes that inevery encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Mufulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach; he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor

and

³⁷ His circumcifion, education, &cc. are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (1. i. p. 6, 7.).

CHAP. and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the flavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he afferted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a foldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty 38 could be poured His motives would be lefs exinto his foul. posed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was fenfible of its weight: but a long oblivion had furely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the Sultan and his fubject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn the base dissimulation, that could ferve only to betray, that could promife only to be forfworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thoufands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praife a fecret correspondence with Huniades, while he

³⁸ Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the Ixiiid year of his age (Marinus, 1. xiii. p. 370.), he was born in 1403; fince he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was novennis (Marinus, l. i. p. 1. 6.), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Amurath II. who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian slave. Spondanus has remarked this inconsistency, A. D. 1431, N 31. 1443, Nº 14.

commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? CHAP. shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a LXVII. treacherous defertion which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the con- His revolt fusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was from the Turks, fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal fecretary: A.D.1443, with a dagger at his breaft, he extorted a firman Nov. 28. or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the confequences of an immediate difcovery. With fome bold companions, to whom he had revealed his defign, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate: and no fooner did he command the fortrefs, than George Caftriot dropt the mask of dissimulation; abjured the Prophet and the Sultan, and proclaimed himfelf the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the affembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable saltpits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats 39; and the entire sum,

³⁹ His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (1. ii. p. 44.). exempt

CHAP. exempt from the demands of luxury, was firietly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every fuperfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example ftrengthened his command; and under his conduct, the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their ene-His valour; mies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his fervice; his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active: but he viewed with a difcerning eye the difficulties and refources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the ftrongest posts. With such unequal arms, Scanderbegrefisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors,

Amurath the Second, and his greater fon, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they purfued with feeming contempt and implacable refent-

forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into moschs, circumcise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives; but the conquests of the fultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade; and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple 40.

At the head of fixty thousand horse and

40 There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17.), was contiguous

Amurath

Amurath retired with shame and loss from the CHAP. walls of Croya, the caftle and refidence of the LXVII. Caftriots; the march, the fiege, the retreat, were haraffed by a vexatious, and almost invisible, adverfary 41; and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the Sultan 42. In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the Second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn; his lieutenants were permitted to negociate a truce; and the Albanian prince may justly be praifed as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion, and flender powers, must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid atchievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were flain by his fingle hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an

illiterate enemy, and in the dark folitude of Epi-

guous to the fortress of Sfetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink

from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

41 Compare the Turkish narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.) with the pompous and prolix declamation in the ivth, vth, and vith books of the

pompous and prolix declamation in the ivth, with, and with books of the Albanian prieft, who has been copied by the tribe of ftrangers and moderns.

⁴² In honour of his hero, Barletius. l. vi. p. 188—192.) kills the Sultan, by difeafe indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

Jan. 17.

CHAP. rus, his partial biographers may fafely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history; and they afford a ftrong prefumption against their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he paffed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the fuccour of the King of Naples 43. Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned, that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger he applied to PopePius the Second for a refuge in the ecclefiaftical ftate; and his refources were almost exhaufted, fince Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Liffus, on the Venetian territory 44. His sepulchre was and death. A.D. 1467, foon violated by the Turkish conquerors: but the

Janizaries, who wore his bones enchafed in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet, their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet had he balanced the confequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal con-

⁴³ See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the testimony or filence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, torn. xiii. p. 291.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonetta de Rebus Francisci Sfortiæ, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728. et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of Stradiots, foon became famous in the wars of Italy (Memoires de Comines, 1. viii. c. 5.).

⁴⁴ Spondanus, from the best evidence and the most rational critiscism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A.D. 1461, N 20. 1463, N 9. 1465, N 12, 13: 1467, No 1.). His own letter to the Pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring isle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.).

test which must depend on the life and genius of CHAP. one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported LXVII. by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic, and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant fon was faved from the national shipwreck; the Castriots45 were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a fettlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their anceftors 46.

In the long career of the decline and fall of Conftanthe Roman empire, I have reached at length the time the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who Roman or fo feebly fustained the name and majesty of the Greek Cæfars. On the decease of John Palæologus, A.D.1448, who furvived about four years the Hungarian Nov. 8crusade 47, the royal family, by the death of An- May 29. dronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the furviving fons of the

Emperor

⁴⁵ See the family of the Castriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c. xviii. p. 348 - 350.).

⁴⁶ This colony of Albanese is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350-354.).

⁴⁷ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic; but inflead of four years and feven months, Spondanus (A. D. 1445. No 7.) affigns feven or eight years to the reign of the last Constant tine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the King of Æthiopia.

GHAP. Emperor Manuel. Of thefe the first and the last were far diftant in the Morea: but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selybria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled by the public diftress: and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with fingular and even suspicious haste: the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimfy fophism, that he was born in the purple, the eldest fon of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate, and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful fuccessor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, afferted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambasfador, the historian Phranza, was immediately dispatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfal of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Conftantine. In the fpring he failed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his fubjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The Emperor immediately refigned to his brothers the possession of the the Morea; and the brittle friendship of the two CHAP. princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed, in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a confort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the diftance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embaffy of Phranza reprefents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire 48.

The protovestiare, or great chamberlain, Embassies Phranza, failed from Constantinople as minister of a bridegroom: and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue confifted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks: he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embaffy was protracted above two years. his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the ftrangers; and fuch was their fimplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without underflanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd, was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried

of Phranza, A.D. 1450-1452.

⁴⁸ Phranza (l. iii. c. 1-6.) deserves credit and esteem.

CHAP. away a captive by the barbarians 49, and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India 50, from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea 51. From this hospitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Tribizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife Maria 52, the daughter of the Servian despot, had been ho-

49 Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l.iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Tartar master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice islands.

nourably reftored to her parents; on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and

50 The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale: dragons seventy cubits, ants (the formira Indica) nine inches long, sheep like elephants,

elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

5' He failed in a country vessel from the spice islands to one of the ports of the exterior India; invenitque navem grandem Ibericam, quâ in Portugallium est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, I. iii. c. 30.), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

52 Cantemir (p. 83.), who files her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath, in the year 1424. It will not eafily be believed, that in fix-and-twenty years cohabitation, the fultan, corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, I. iii. c. 22.)

refutes

refutes the specious objections that might be CHAP. raifed against the proposal. The majesty of the LXVII. purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the cnurch; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Conftantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that failed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the fultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Inflead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter 53, he offered a portion of fifty-fix thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats; and the services of the ambasfador were repaid by an affurance, that as his fon had been adopted in baptism by the Emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the Empress of Constantinople. the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermillion crosses on the golden bull, and affured the Georgian envoy, that in the

^{5:} The claffical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad, l. v. 144.), and the general practice of antiquity.

CHAP. fpring his gallies should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Conftantine embraced his faithful fervant, not with the cold approbation of a fovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who after a long absence, is impatient to pour his fecrets into the bosom of his friend.

State of the Byzantine court.

" Since the death of my mother and of Cantacu-" zene, who alone advifed me without interest or " passion 54, I am surrounded," said the Emperor, " by men whom I can neither love, nor truft, " nor efteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas " Notaras, the great admiral; obstinately attached to his own fentiments, he declares, both " in private and public, that his fentiments are the " absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. "The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their " personal or factious views: and how can I con-" fult the monks on questions of policy and mar-" riage? I have yet much employment for your " diligence and fidelity. In the fpring you shall engage one of my brothers to folicit the fuccour of the Western powers; from the Morea " you shall fail to Cyprus on a particular com-" mission; and from thence proceed to Georgia " to receive and conduct the future empress." "Your commands," replied Phranza, "are ir-" refistible; but deign, great fir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider, that if I am " thus perpetually absent from my family, my

³⁴ Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was great domestic, a firm afferter of the Greek creed, and a brother of the Queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambaffador (Syrepulus, p. 37, 38: 45.). ss wife

"wife may be tempted either to feek another C H A P "husband, or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the Emperor more gravely confoled him by the pleafing affurance that this should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requifite to negociate a confent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half suppressed, left it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favourite. The winter was fpent in the preparations of his embaffy; and Phranza had refolved, that the youth his fon should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public defigns, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

CHAP, LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second. -Siege, Affault, and final Conquest, of Constantinople by the Turks.—Death of Constantine Palæologus. - Servitude of the Greeks. -Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East. -Consternation of Europe. - Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second.

LXVIII. Character of Mahomet II.

CHAP. THE fiege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the Second' was the fon of the fecond Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and Princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who people from every climate the haram of the fultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empireappear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his loofer hours he

> For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 32.), whose resentment had cooled in age and folitude; fee likewise Spondanus (A. D. 1451, No 11.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552.), the Elogia of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164-166.), and the Dictionaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272-279.).

prefumed

presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of CHAP. Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the fultan LXVIII. persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran2: his private indiscretion must have been facred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and fectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth, must be armed with fuperior contempt for abfurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters. Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he fpoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldman or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Perfian might indeed contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and fuch studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign; his own praifes in Latin poetry4 or

² Cantemir (p. 115.), and the moschs which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1453, N° 22.).

³ Quinque linguas præter fuam noveret; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Perficam. The Latin translator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Musulman.

⁴ Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the Duke of Milan. Philelphus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his life by M. Launcelot, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 724, &c.

C.H.A.P. profes might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the state sman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew flaves? The hiftory and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West's, excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy '. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his favage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in fearch of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous flave, whose head he fevered from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His fobriety is attefted by the filence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the

Ottoman

⁵ Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his xii books de Re Militari, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismund Malatesta, Prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epiftle to Mahomet II.

⁶ According to Phranza, he affiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere, that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the fultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his fubjects. Yet these lives are a school of freedom as well as of valour.

⁷ The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was difmiffed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purfe of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness. But CHAP. it cannot be denied that his passions were at once LXVIII. furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the flightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural luft. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible fword. He was doubtless a foldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the atchievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of His reign, royalty, and twice descended from the throne: A.D. 1451, Feb. 9 his tender age was incapable of opposing his A.D. 1481, father's reftoration, but never could he forgive July 2. the vizirs who had recommended that falutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the

⁸ These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.). The fophis of Persia can produce a more regular fuccession; and in the last age, our European travellers were the witnesses and companions of their revels.

CHAP. daughter of a Turkman emir: and after a festival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride to refide in the government of Magnefia. Before the end of fix weeks he was recalled by a fudden meffage from the divan. which announced the decease of Amurath, and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience; he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard; and at the diftance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the foldiers and the people, fell proftrate before the new fultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of fedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers. The ambassadors of Europe and Afia foon appeared to congratulate his accession and solicit his friendship; and to all he fpoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the folemn oaths and fair affurances with which he fealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was affigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of

⁹ Calapin, one of these royal infants, was faved from his cruel brother, and baptifed at Rome under the name of Calliffus Othomannus. The Emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cuspinian, who in his youth converfed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his picty and wisdom (de Cæsaribus, p. 672, 673.).

Mahomet might tremble at the feverity with CHAP. which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp, LXVIII. of his father's household: the expences of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of feven thousand falconers was either difmiffed from his fervice, or enlifted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Afiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the fubmission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the fmallest obstacle from the execution of his great defign 10.

The Mahometan, and more especially the Hostile in-Turkish casuists, have pronounced that no promife can bind the faithful against the interest A.D. 1450. and duty of their religion; and that the fultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had fcorned this immoral privilege; but his fon, though the proudeft of men, could ftoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he inceffantly fighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indifcretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture". Instead of labouring to he

See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Phranza (l. i. • c. 33. l. iii. c. 2.), Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 199.), and Cantemir (p. 96.). Before I enter on the fiege of Constantinople I shall observe, that except the fhort hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest; such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723-769.) I most therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are

CHAP. be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp. LXVIII. to demand the payment, and even the increase, of their annual flipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a fecret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the fense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable "Romans," faid Calil, "we know your devices. " and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the " scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne " is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no " laws can bind, and no obstacles can resist: and " if you escape from his hands, give praise to the " divine clemency, which yet delays the chaftife-" ment of your fins. Why do ye feek to affright " us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the "fugitive Orchan, crown him fultan of Ro-" mania; call the Hungarians from beyond the "Danube; arm against us the nations of the West; and be assured that you will only pro-" voke and precipitate your ruin." But if the fears of the ambaffadors were alarmed by the ftern language of the vizir, they were foothed by

> fubdued by their diffress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7-20.), Chalcocondyles (l. viii. p. 201 -214.), and Leonardus Chienfis (Historia C. P. a Turco expugnatæ. Norimberghæ, 1544, in 4to. 20 leaves.). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, fince it was composed in the isle of Chios, the 16th of August 1453, only seventy-nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epiftle of Cardinal Isidore (in Farragine Rerum Turcicarum, ad calcem Chalcocondyl. Clauferi, Bafil, 1556) to Pope Nicholas V. and a tract of Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed in the year 1581 to Martin Crusius (Turco Græcia, I.i. p. 74-98. Bafil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly, though critically, reviewed by Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No 1-27.). The hearfay relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins, I shall take leave to difregard.

the courteous audience and friendly speeches of CHAP. the Ottoman Prince; and Mahomet affured them LXVIII. that on his return to Adrianople, he would redrefs the grievances, and confult the true intereft, of the Greeks. No fooner had he repassed the Hellespont, than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in fome degree commenced, the fiege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raifed by his grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the European side he refolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis 12. Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can feldom perfuade: the ambaffadors of the Emperor attempted, without fuccess, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his defign. They reprefented that his grandfather had folicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the ftreight, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations; to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the

The fituation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (de Bosphoro Thracio, l. ii. c. 13.). Leunclavins (Pandect. p. 445.), and Tournesort (Voyage dans le Levant, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444.); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournesort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to vol. iii. ch. 17. of this history.

LXVIII.

CHAP. city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious fultan, " against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. " Have you forgot the diftress to which my fa-"ther was reduced when you formed a league " with the Hungarians: when they invaded our " country by land, and the Hellespont was oc-" cupied by the French gallies? Amurath was " compelled to force the passage of the Bos-" phorus; and your strength was not equal to " your malevolence. I was then a child at Adri-" anople; the Moslems trembled; and for a while " the Gabours's infulted our difgrace. But when " my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, " he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore. " and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. " Have ye the right, have ye the power, to con-" trol my actions on my own ground? For that " ground is my own: as far as the shores of the " Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and " Europe is deferted by the Romans. Return, " and inform your king, that the present Otto-" man is far different from his predecessors; that " his refolutions furpass their wishes; and that he " performs more than they could refolve. Return in fafety - but the next who delivers a fimilar " meffage may expect to be flayed alive." After

¹³ The opprobious name which the Turks bestow on the Insidels, is expressed Kasove by Ducas, and Giaour by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloff. Græc. tom. i. p. 530.) from Καβουςον, in vulgar Greek, a tortoife, as denoting a retrogade motion from the faith. But, alas! Gabour is no more. than Gheber, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worthippers of fire to those of the crucifix (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375.).

this declaration. Conftantine, the first of the CHAP. Greeks in fpirit as in rank 14, had determined to LXVIII. unsheath the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was difarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclefiaftical ministers, who recommended a fystem less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-fuffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own fafety, and the destruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wife, and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks flut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the fpring and the fultandecided the affurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are He builds seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-fixth of March, a fortress on the the appointed fpot of Asomaton was covered Bosphorus, with an active fwarm of Turkish artificers; and the materials by fea and land were diligently March. transported from Europe and Asia 15. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was

14 Phranza does justice to his master's sense and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere constituit, and ftigmatifes the folly of the cum facri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amentes spe vanâ pasci. Ducas was not a privy-counsellor.

¹⁵ Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97.) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's firatagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are

LXVIII.

1200

James Charles

14 4 15

CHAP. cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nico. media; and the stones were dug from the Ana. tolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was affifted by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress 16 was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a ftrong and maffy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the fea-shore; a thickness of twenty-two feet was affigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a folid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour : his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the fervice of God and the fultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the meffenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irrefiftible progress of the work; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to affuage an implacable foe, who fought, and fecretly fomented, the flightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must foon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been confecrated to St. Michael the archangel,

> fwayed by an anti-christian prejudice) are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

were

¹⁶ In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcocondyles, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Leunclavius.

were employed without scruple by the profane C HAP. and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, LXVIII. who prefumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the infult was refented; and feveral of both nations were flain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unfuspecting reapers were maffacred by the foldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople The Turkhad been open to the vifits of commerce and cu- ifh war, riofity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the Emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives 17; and expressed in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. " Since neither " oaths, nor treaty, nor fubmission, can secure " peace, pursue," faid he to Mahomet, " your " impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: " if it should please him to mollify your heart, I " fhall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers

¹⁷ Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before funset.

" the city into your hands, I submit without a CHAP. " murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge

" of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my

" people." The Sultan's answer was hostile and

decifive: his fortifications were completed; and Sept. I.; before his departure for Adrianople, hestationed

a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. Venetian veffel, refufing obedience to the new

lords of the Bosphorus, was funk with a fingle bullet. The mafter and thirty failors escaped in

the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the

Porte: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the historian Ducas 15 beheld,

at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild beafts. The fiege of Conftantinople was deferred

till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the

brothers of Constantine. At this æra of calamity, A.D. 1453, one of these princes, the Despot Thomas, was

bleffed or afflicted with the birth of a fon; "the

" last heir," fays the plaintive Phranza, " of the

" last spark of the Roman empire 19."

Preparations for the fiege of Constantinople,

Jan. 17.

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and fleepless winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by

¹⁸ Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3.) who had failed in his veffel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

¹⁹ Auctum est Palæologorum genus, et Imperii successor, parvæque Romanorum scintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7.) The ftrong expression was inspired by his feelings.

the preparations of defence and attack; and the CHAP. two Emperors, who had the most to lose or to LXVIII. gain, were the most deeply affected by the national A.D. 1452, In Mahomet, that fentiment was September, inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leifure with building at Adrianople 20 April. the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watchtower of the world); but his ferious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæfar. At the dead of night, about the fecond watch, he flarted from his bed, and commanded the inftant attendance of his prime vizir. message, the hour, the prince, and his own fituation, alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha; who had possessed the considence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the fon, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran flatesman was not insensible that he trod on a thin and flippery ice, which might break under his footsteps, and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had fligmatifed him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or fosterbrother of the infidels 21; and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the con-

20 Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The Sultan was either doubtful of his conquest, or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may fometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their fovereign.

²¹ Συντεοφος, by the Prefident Coufin, is translated pere nourricier, most correctly indeed from the Latin version; but in his haste, he has overlooked the note by which Ifmael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

LXVIII.

CHAP. clusion of the war. On receiving the royal man. date, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, haftened to the palace, adored the Sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the flight tribute of his duty and gratitude 22. " It is " not my wish," faid Mahomet, " to resume my " gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on " thy head. In my turn I alk a present far more " valuable and important; - Conftantinople." As foon as the vizir had recovered from his furprife, "the fame God," faid he, "who has " already given thee fo large a portion of the "Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, " and the capital. His providence, and thy power, affure thy fuccess; and myself, with " the rest of thy faithful slaves, will facrifice our " lives and fortunes." "Lala23," (or preceptor,) continued the Sultan, "do you fee this pillow? " all the night in my agitation, I have pulled it " on one fide and the other; I have rifen from " my bed, again have I lain down; yet fleep has " not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the " gold and filver of the Romans: in arms we

²² The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a fovereign or a fuperior, is of high antiquity, and feems analogous with the idea of facrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of fuch Persian gifts, Ælian, Hist. Var. 1. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

²³ The Lala of the Turks (Cantemir, p. 34.), and the Tata of the Greeks (Ducas, c. 35.), are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be observed, that all such primitive words which denote their parents, are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or a dental confonant and an open vowel (des Broffes, Mechanisme des Langues, tom. i. p. 231-247.).

" are superior; and with the aid of God, and CHAP. " the prayers of the Prophet, we shall speedily LXVIII " become masters of Constantinople." To found the disposition of his foldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone, and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the Sultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were fpent in delineating the plan of the hostile city: in debating with his generals and engineers, on what fpot he should erect his batteries; on which fide he should asfault the walls; where he should fpring his mines; to what place he should apply his fcaling-ladders: and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he The great ftudied with peculiar care the recent and tremen- cannon of dous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery furpaffed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deferted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish fultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. " Am I able to " cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or " flone of fufficient fize to batter the walls of " Conftantinople?" "I am not ignorant of their " ftrength, but were they more folid than those " of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of supe-" perior power: the position and management of "that engine must be left to your engineers." On this affurance, a foundery was established at

Adrianople:

CHAP. Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous, and almost incredible, magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is affigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above fix hundred pounds 4. A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but to prevent the fudden and mifchievous effects of aftonishment and fear, a proclamation was iffued, that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of fixty oxen: two hundred men on both fides were flationed to poife or support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philofopher 25 derides on this occasion the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason,

See Voltaire (Hift. Generale, c. xci. p. 294, 295.). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the poet frequently aspires to the

name and style of an astronomer, a chymist, &c.

²⁴ The Attic talent weighed about fixty minæ, or averdupois pounds (fee Hooper on Ancient Weights, Measures, &c.); but among the modern Greeks, that claffic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, ταλαντον). Leonardus Chiensis measured the ball or stone of the fecond cannon: Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro.

that we should always distrust the exaggerations C H A P. of a vanquished people. He calculates, that a LXVIII. ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, fince not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the found, or even the confequence, of a fingle explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it feem improbable, that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of fix hundred yards it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the streight, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the oppofite hill 26.

The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85—89.), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess, and the consternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our considence.

Mahomet II forms the fiege of Conftantinople, A.D. 1453, April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the Eaft, the Greek Emperor implored with fervent prayers the affiftance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the Sultan of Egypt. Some flates were too weak, and others too remote; by fome the danger was confidered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels: and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falfehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was foftened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen before the fquadrons of Genoa and Venice could fail from their harbours 27. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality; the Genoese colony of Galatianegociated a private treaty; and the Sultan indulged them in the delufive hope, that by his clemency they might furvive the ruin of the em-

²⁷ Non audivit, indignum ducens, fays the honest Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more courtly expression of Platina, in animo fuisse pontifici juvare Græcos, and the positive affertion of Æneas Sylvius, structam classem, &c. (Spond. A.D. 1453, N° 3.).

A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine CHAP. nobles; basely withdrew from the danger of their LXVIII. country; and the avarice of the rich denied the Emperor, and referved for the Turks, the fecret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries28. The indigent and folitary prince prepared however to fustain his formidable adversary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his ftrength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to refift was exterminated with fire and fword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mefembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, furrendered on the first fummons; Selybria alone deferved the honours of a fiege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invefted by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and fold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himfelf all was filent and proftrate: he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the fixth

²⁸ Antonin. in Proem. — Epift. Cardinal. Ifidor. apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns, The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages; That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince, Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates. CHAP. day of April, formed the memorable fiege of LXVIII. Conftantinople.

Forces of

The troops of Afia and Europe extended on the the Turks; right and left from the Propontis to the harbour: the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the Sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep intrenchment; and a subordinate army inclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who refided in Greece about thirty years before the fiege, is confident, that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of fixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pufillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular establishment of the Capiculi 29, the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treafury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the found of the holy trumpet invited a fwarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the fwords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by

²⁹ The palatine troops are styled Capiculi, the provincials, Seratculi; and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia existed before the Canon Nameh of Soliman II., from which, and his own experience, Count Marfigli has composed his military state of the Ottoman empire.

Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to CHAP. the amount of three or four hundred thousand LXVIII. men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability 30. The navy of the beliegers was less formidable; the Propontis was overfpread with three hundred and twenty fail; but of thefe no more than eighteen could be rated as gallies of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of ftoreships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople of the was still peopled with more than an hundred thou- Greeksfand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have fometimes exerted for the common fafety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property, has loft in fociety the first and most active energies of nature. By the Emperor's command, a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how

3º The observation of Philelphus is approved by Cuspinian in the year 1508 (de Czefaribus, in Epilog. de Militia Turcica, p. 697.). Marsigli proves that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that belieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chienfis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

many

CHAP, many of the citizens, or even of the monks. LXVIII. were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lifts were intrufted to Phranza31: and, after a diligent addition, he informed his mafter, with grief and furprife, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and feventy Romans. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless fecret was preferved; and a fufficient proportion of fhields, cross-bows, and muskets, was distributed from the arfenal to the city bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani. a noble Genoese; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the isle of Lemnos, was promifed to the valour and victory of their chief. A ftrong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour: it was supported by some Greek and Italian veffels of war and merchandife; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public fervice. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of fixteen, miles was defended by a fcanty garrison of feven or eight thousand foldiers. Europe and Afia were open to the beliegers; but the strength and provisions of the

³¹ Ego, eidem (Imp.) tabellas extribui non absque dolore et mœstitia, mansitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, 1. iii. c. 8.). With fome indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot defire a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private counsels.

Greeks muft fuftain a daily decrease; nor could C H A P. they indulge the expectation of any foreign fuc- LXVIII. cour or fupply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their False union fwords in the resolution of death or conquest. of the two The primitive Christians might have embraced A.D. 1452, each other, and awaited in patience and charity Dec. 12. the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animofity and discord. Before his death, the Emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins: nor was the idea revived, till the diffress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and diffimulation 32. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambaffadors were inftructed to mingle the affurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the flate; and his orthodox wishes folicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the figns of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more eafily granted than an army; and about fix months before the final destruction, the Cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that

character with a retinue of priefts and foldiers. The Emperor faluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private fer-

³² In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The Bishop of Palmiers died in 1642, and the history of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37.) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

LXVIII.

CHAP. mons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of facrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were folemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ. and of the Patriarch Gregory who had been into exile by a rebellious people.

Obstinacy and fanati-Greeks.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest cifm of the who officiated at the altar, were an object of feandal; and it was observed with horror, that he confecrated a cake or wafer of unleavened bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the facrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush, that none of his countrymen, not the Emperor himself, were fincere in this occafional conformity 33. Their hafty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revifal; but the best, or the worst, of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were preffed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, " Have patience," they whifpered, "have patience till God shall have "delivered the city from the great dragon who " feeks to devour us. You shall then perceive " whether we are truly reconciled with the Azy-" mites." But patience is not the attribute of

³³ Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii; he affirms with pleafure, that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (l.iii. c. 20.).

zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to CHAP. the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. LXVIII. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either fex, and of every degree, rushed in crowds, to the cell of the monk Gennadius 34, to confult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture: but he had exposed on the door of his cell a speaking tablet; and they fucceffively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: "O miferable Romans, why " will ye abandon the truth; and why, instead " of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in "the Italians? In lofing your faith, you will " lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! "I protest in thy presence, that I am innocent " of the crime. O miferable Romans, confider, " pause, and repent. At the same moment that " you renounce the religion of your fathers, by " embracing impiety, you fubmit to a foreign " fervitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels, and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the prefent and future affociates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part

³⁴ His primitive and fecular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence at Florence, of the fame union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 760—786.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343—383.) has restored the identity of his person and the duplicity of his character.

CHAP, of the clergy and people. From the monastery, LXVIII. the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the Pope: emptied their glaffes in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and befought her to defend against Mahomet, the city which she had formerly faved from Chofroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for "fuccour, or union, or Latins? far from us be "the worship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was diffracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the feafon of Lent, the approach of Easter. instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinized and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those, who had received the communion from a prieft, who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His fer-

> vice at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and fimple spectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of the facerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of fudden death, to invoke the affiftance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin facrifice, than it was deferted as a Jewish fynagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy

and people: and a vast and gloomy filence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had fo often fmoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with in-

numerable

numerable lights, and refounded with the voice CHAP. of prayer and thankfgiving. The Latins were LXVIII. the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat 35. A fentiment fo unworthy of Christians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the Emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his fubjects; and their native cowardice was fanctified by refignation to the divine decree, or the vifionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Siege of Constantinople, the two fides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy; the Propontis by Mahonature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was April 6protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of May 29. the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of fix miles 36, the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the Emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the fiege, the Greek foldiers descended into the

Constantinople by met II. A.D. 1453.

³⁵ Φακιολιον, καλυπτεα, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schifm.

³⁶ We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the fmallest measure which is preserved in the wersts of Russia, of 547 French toises, and of 1042 to a degree. The fix miles of Phranza do not exceed four. English miles (D'Anville, Mesures Itineraires, p. 61. 123, &c.).

CHAP. ditch, or fallied into the field; but they foon dif-LXVIII. covered, that in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pufillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant vollies of lances and arrows were accompanied with the fmoke, the found, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the fize of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, feveral breaft-plates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were foon funk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in fize or number; and if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls. left the aged ftructure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion 37. The same destructive fecret

³⁷ At indies doctiores nostri facti paravere contra hostes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, fi aderant incommoditate loci primum

fecret had been revealed to the Moslems; by CHAP. whom it was employed with the fuperior energy LXVIII. of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude38; the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it difcharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the Sultan, we may difcern the infancy of the new science. Under a mafter who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than feven times in one day 39. The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired who bethought himfelf of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

primum hostes offendere maceriebus alveisque tectos non poterant. Namfiquæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant. This passage of Leonardus Chiensis is curious and important.

³⁸ According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst, an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artift's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

³⁹ Near an hundred years after the fiege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 shot in an engagement of two hours (Memoires de Martin du Bellay, I. x. in the Collection Generale, tom. xxi. p. 239.).

C H A P.

Attack and defence.

The first random shots were productive of more found than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm, and to build a road to the affault 40. Innumerable fascines, and hogfheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and fuch was the impetuofity of the throng. that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice, and inftantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the befiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the foil was rocky; in every attempt, he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air 41. A circumstance that diftinguishes

^{*} I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the Abbé de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sleges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to please the order, he had adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

⁴¹ The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. P.i. p. 324.). They were first practifed

tinguishes the fiege of Constantinople, is the re- C H A P. union of the ancient and modern artillery. The LXVIII. cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for cafting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the fame walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides: inceffant vollies were fecurely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate fally and retreat of the foldiers and workmen. They ascended by a stair-case to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pullies to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse By these various arts of annoyance, fome as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a fevere ftruggle, the Turks were repulfed from the breach, and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted, that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decifive fuccefs. Of this paufe of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the Emperor and Juftiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and

practifed at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93 ---97.).

CHAP, urged the labours which involved the fafety of LXVIII. the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient Sultan perceived, with aftonishment. and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and reflored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his defign; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-feven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that fuch a work, in fo fhort a time, could have been accomplished by the infidels.

Succour of four fhips.

The generofity of the Christian princes was and victory cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a fiege, Conftantine had negociated, in the ifles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indifpenfable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five42 great ships equipped for merchandife and war, would have failed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the North 43. One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with foldiers and mariners, for the fervice of

⁴⁸ It is fingular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels; the five of Ducas, the four of Phranza and Leonardus, and the two of Chalcocondyles, must be extended to the fmaller, or confined to larger, fize. Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III. confounds the Emperors of the East and West.

⁴³ In bold defiance, or rather in grofs ignorance, of language and geography, the prefident Coufin detains them at Chios with a fouth, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle CHAP. breeze, and, on the fecond day, a ftrong gale LXVIII. from the South, carried them through the Hellefpont and the Propontis: but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has prefent to his mind the geographical picture of Conftantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of fails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred veffels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Afia, were lined with innumerable fpectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous fuccour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the fuperiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the Sultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the fea to the infidels 44; and a feries of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has

[&]quot;The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy, may be observed in Rycaut (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372—378.), Thevenot (Voyages, P.i. p. 229—242.), and Tott (Memoires, tom. iii.); the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.

CHAP, established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen gallies of some force, the rest of their fleet confifted of open boats, rudely confirmeted and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and fince courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five flout and lofty ships were guided by skilfulpilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practifed in the arts and perils of the fea. Their weight was directed to fink or fcatter the weak obstacles that impeded their pasfage: their artillery swept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adverfaries, who, with the defign of boarding, prefumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the fide of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese: but the Turks, in a diftant and closer attack, were twice repulfed with confiderable lofs. Mahomet himself fat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence. by the promise of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his foul, and even the geftures of his body45, feemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he fpurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into

⁴⁵ I must confess, that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71.) has drawn of the passions and gesture of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuse.

the fea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours CHAB of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third at. LXVIII. tack, more fatal and bloody than the two former: and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms from their own mouth, that they loft above twelve thousand men in the flaughter of the day. They fled in diforder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian fquadron, triumphant and unhurt, fleered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boafted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some confolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice: and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and fervices were annihilated by the difpleasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four flaves, and received one hundred ftrokes with a golden rod46: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the Sultan, who was fatisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduc-

⁴⁶ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38.), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is fufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet, and bruise the back of his admiral.

CHAP, tion of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crufades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the fituation of the Imperial city was ftrong against her enemies. and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might. have faved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the fole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople: the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambaffador of Hungary. or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the Sultan 47.

Mahomet transports his navy ever land. It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the fecret of the divan; yet the Greeks are perfuaded, that a refiftance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the persidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well

⁴⁷ Ducas, who confesses himself ill-informed of the affairs of Hungary, affigns a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turkish conquests. See Phranza (l.iii. c. 20.) and Spondanus.

as from the land: but the harbour was inaccef- C H A P. fible; an impenetrable chain was now defended LXVIII. by eight large ships, more than twenty of a fmaller fize, with feveral gallies and floops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval fally, and a fecond encounter in the open fea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous caft, of transporting by land his lighter veffels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But, these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and folid planks; and to render them more flippery and fmooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and Fourfcore light gallies and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were difembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the force of men and pullies. Two guides or pilots were flationed at the helm, and the prow, of each veffel; the fails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by fong and acclamation. course of a fingle night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, fleered over the plain, and

7

CHAP. was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper veffels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the confternation and confidence which it infpired: but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens of the two nations 48. A fimilar stratagem had been repeatedly practifed by the ancients49; the Ottoman gallies (I must again repeat) should be confidered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle⁵⁰ has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times 51. As foon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army; he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth, and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads; joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a folid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourfcore gallies, with troops

> The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p.96.) from the Turkish annals; but I could wish to contract the distance of ten miles, and to prolong the term of one night.

50 A Greek of Candia, who had ferved the Venetians in a fimilar undertaking (Spond. A.D. 1438, No 37.), might possibly be the advifer and agent of Mahomet.

51 Iparticularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

⁴⁹ Phranza relates two examples of a fimilar transportation over the fix miles of the Isthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth century. To these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hannibal, to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749. edit. Gronov.).

and scaling-ladders, approached the most accest C H A P. fible fide, which had formerly been stormed by LXVIII. the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and filenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the Sultan. vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were funk or taken; forty youths, the braveft of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly maffacred at his command; nor could the Emperor's grief be affuaged by the just though cruel retaliation, of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and fixty Musulman captives. After a flege of forty days, the fate of Constan- Diffres of tinople could no longer be averted. The diminu- the city. tive garrison was exhausted by a double attack: the fortifications which had flood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Conftantine was compelled to despoil the churches with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his facrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries afferted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the great duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During

C H A P.
LXVIII.
Preparations of the
Turks for
the general
affault,
May 26.

During the fiege of Conftantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been fometimes pronounced; and feveral embaffies had paffed between the camp and the city 52. The Greek Emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish Sultan was defirous of sparing the blood of his foldiers; still more defirous of fecuring for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a facred duty in presenting to the Gabours, the choice of circumcifion, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been fatisfied with an annual fum of one hundred thousand ducats: but his ambition grasped the capital of the East: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a fafe departure: but after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Constantinople. A fense of honour, and the fear of universal reproach, forbade Palæologus to refign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the Sultan in the preparations of the affault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; affembled in his presence the military chiefs;

⁵² Chalcocondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumftances of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious nor falutary, the faithful Phranza spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

and dispersed his heralds through the camp to CHAP. proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the LXVIII. perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deferters, had they the wings of a bird 53, should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents: but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by fuccessive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an oda, is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with feven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to inftil the defire of martyrdom, and

53 These wings (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 208.) are no more than an oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's paffion foars above fense and reason:

> Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings, Bear him aloft above the wandering clouds, And feat him in the Pleiads golden chariot-Thence should my fury drag him down to tortures.

Befides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe, I. That the operation of the wind, must be confined to the lower regions of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiast ad Homer. 2. 686. Eudocia in Ionia, p. 399. Apollodor. 1. iii. c. 10. Heine, p. 229. Not. 682.), and had no affinity with the aftronomy of the East (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Differt. tom. i. p. 40. 42. Goguet, Origine des Arts, &c. tom. vi. p. 73-78. Gebelin, Hist. du Calendrier, p. 73.), which Mahomet had studied. 3. The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern constellation :

Αρκτον θηνικαι άμαξαν επικλησιν καλιωσ.

CHAP. the affurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trufted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promifed to the victorious troops; "The " city and the buildings," faid Mahomet, " are " mine; but I refign to your valour the captives " and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty; " be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces " of my empire: the intrepid foldier who first, " ascends the walls of Constantinople, shall be " rewarded with the government of the fairest " and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall " accumulate his honours and fortunes above the " measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moslem fhouts of "God is God, there is but one God, " and Mahomet is the apostle of God 54;" and the fea and land, from Galata to the feven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Laft farewell of the Emperor and the Greeks.

Far different was the flate of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their fins. The celeftial image of the Virgin had been exposed in folemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their intreaties; they accufed the obstinacy of the Emperor for refusing a

^{5;} Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet; the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

timely furrender; anticipated the horrors of their CHAP. fate; and fighed for the repose and security of LXVIII. Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks. and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general affault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire 55: he promifed, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompence to the heroes who fall in the fervice of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a fiege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair, and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his ftation, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The Emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St.Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the facrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace,

⁵⁵ I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent, that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus affigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

CHAP. which resounded with cries and lamentations; folicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured 56; and mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the The diftress and fall of the last Conenemy. ftantine are more glorious than the long profperity of the Byzantine Cæfars.

The general affault. May 29.

In the confusion of darkness an affailant may fometimes fucceed: but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and aftrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented a fmooth and level paffage to the breach; and his fourfcore gallies almost touched, with the prows and their scaling ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, filence was enjoined; but the phyfical laws of motion and found are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thoufands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of diffonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the customary fignal of the morning gun, the Turks affaulted the city by fea and

land;

⁵⁶ This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries: it is more easy to forgive 490 times, than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted CHAP. thread has been applied to the closeness and LXVIII. continuity of their line of attack 57. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peafants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were infantly precipitated: and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their ftrength and ammunition were exhaufted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the flain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more ferviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania, were fuccessively led to the charge: their progrefs was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the Emperor was heard, encouraging his foldiers to atchieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The Sultan himfelf on horfeback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was furrounded by ten thousand of his domestic

⁵⁷ Befides the 10,000 guards, and the failors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general affault 250,000 Turks, both horfe and foot.

CHAP. troops, whom he referved for the decifive occafions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line. to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of founds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all fides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke. which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The fingle combats of the heroes of history or fable, amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general affault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The fight of his

blood,

blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the cou- C HAP. rage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were LXVIII. the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his slight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable Emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, " is flight; the danger is preffing; your " presence is necessary; and whither will you "retire?" "I will retire," faid the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has " opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pufillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he furvived in Galata, or the ifle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach 58. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to flacken when the attack was preffed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of feveral miles, fome places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the befiegers could penetrate in a fingle point, the whole city was irrecoverably loft. The first who deserved the

ss In the fevere censure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chiensis express his strong and recent indignation, glorize salutis suique oblitus. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

CHAP. Sultan's reward was Haffan the Janizary, of LXVIII. gigantic flature and ftrength. With his fcymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the fummit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his fuccess had proved that the atchievement was possible; the walls and towers were instantly covered with a fwarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the Emperor 59, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a foldier, was long feen, and finally loft. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained. till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, " Cannot there be found "a Christian to cut off my head "?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of

As to Sebastian, let them fearch the field; And where they find a mountain of the flain, Send one to climb, and looking down beneath, There they will find him at his manly length, With his face up to heaven, in that red monument Which his good fword had digged.

⁵⁹ Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza, carrying him among the enemy, escapes from the precise image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:

⁶⁰ Spondanus (A. D. 1453, No 10.), who has hopes of his falvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

the infidels 61. The prudent despair of Constan- C HAP. tine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult LXVIII. he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the flain. After his Death of death, refiftance and order were no more: the the Empe-Greeks fled towards the city; and many were frantine pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate Palæolo-The victorious Turks rushed of St. Romanus. through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were foon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the fide of the harbour 62. In the first heat of their pursuit, about two thoufand Christians were put to the fword; but avarice foon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should immediately have given quarter if the valour of the Emperor and his chofen bands had not prepared them for a fimilar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a flege of fifty-three Loss of the days, that Conftantinople, which had defied the city and empire. power of Chofroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably fubdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors 63.

⁶¹ Leonardus Chienfis properly observes, that the Turks, had they known the Emperor, would have laboured to fave and fecure a captive fo acceptable to the Sultan.

⁶² Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

⁶³ Chalcocondyles most absurdly supposes, that Constantinople was facked by the Afiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more claffic name of Teucri.

CHAP. The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid LXVIII. wing; yet fuch was the extent of Constanti-The Turks nople, that the more distant quarters might proenter and long, fome moments, the happy ignorance of Conftant their ruin 64. But in the general consternation, in the feelings of felfish or focial anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the affault, a sleepless night and morning must have elapsed: nor can Ibelieve that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a found and tranquil flumber; on the affurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deferted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd each individual might be fafe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the fanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitude of fathers and hufbands, of women and children, of priefts, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the infide, and they fought protection from the facred dome, which they had fo lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor; that one day the Turks would enter Con-

stantinople,

⁶⁴ When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, 1. i. c. 191, and Usher (Annal. p. 78.), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

stantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the CHAP. column of Constantine in the square before St. LXVIII. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would descend from heaven, with a fword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man feated at the foot of the column. "Take this fword," would he fay, "and avenge "the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would inftantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with fome fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that " angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had "he offered to exterminate your foes if you "would confent to the union of the church. even then, in that fatal moment, you would "have rejected your fafety, or have deceived " your God 65."

While they expected the descent of the tardy Captivity angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as Greeks. the Turks encountered no refistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was de-

⁶⁵ This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.) who two years afterwards was fent ambaffador from the Prince of Lesbos to the Sultan (c. 44.). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463 (Phranza, I. iii. c. 27.), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their mifery.

CHAP. cided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The fenators were linked with their flaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian class. with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the fun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of fociety were confounded; the ties of nature were cut afunder: and the inexorable foldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair: and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the ftreets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monafteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any palace, however facred or fequestered, protect the perfons or the property of the Greeks. Above fixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or fold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through

through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. CHAP. Among these we may notice some remarkable LXVIII. characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal fecretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After fuffering four months the hardships of flavery, he recovered his freedom; in the enfuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ranfomed his wife from the mir bashi or master of horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been feized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the feraglio, perhaps a virgin; his fon, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover 66. A deed thus inhuman, cannot furely be expiated by the tafte and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family 67. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most fensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the fearch, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit 68. The

66 See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expressions are positive: Ameras sua manu jugulavit volebat enim eo turpiter et nesarie abuti. Me miserum et infelicem. Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the feraelio.

demie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

68 The Commentaries of Pius II. suppose that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse which was cut off and ex-

CHAP. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandife and war. They had fignalifed their valour in the fiege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted fail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd: but the means of transportation were fcanty: the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and not with standing the fairest promifes of the Sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

the spoil.

In the fall and the fack of great cities, an hifto-Amount of rian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the fame paffions; and when those passions may be indulged without controul, fmall, alas! is the difference between civilized and favage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the fervice, the fale, or the ranfom, of his captives of both fexes 69. The

> posed in triumph, while the legate himself was brought and delivered as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (fays Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No 15.) in his own letters, left he should lose the merit and reward of fuffering for Christ:

> 69 Busbequius expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war, and the use of flavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de

Legat. Turcicâ, epist. iii. p. 161.).

wealth

wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the C HAP. Sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine LXVIII. of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit: and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction; the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats 70; and of this fum a finall part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the flock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle oftentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, left it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches, excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the fecond firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God 72, was defpoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and

^{7°} This fum is fpecified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 211.), but in the diffribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one-fourth.

⁷¹ See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (I. iii. c. 17.).

CHAP. filver, the pearls and jewels, the vafes and facer. dotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the fervice of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables, or the kitchen, to the vileft uses. The example of facrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Conftantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the faints, had fustained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Mufulman on the monuments of idolatry. haps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more feriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were deftroyed or fcattered in the general confusion; one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared 12; ten volumes might be purchased for a fingle ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleafure, that an inestimable portion of our classic

11

⁷² See Ducas (c. 43.) and an epiftle, July 15th, 1453. from Laurus Quirinus to Pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 192. from a MS. in the Cotton library).

treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that CHAP. the mechanics of a German town had invented LXVIII. an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

ninth of May, diforder and rapine prevailed in fits thecity, Constantinople, till the eighth hour of the same St. Sophia, day; when the Sultan himself passed in triumph &c. through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (fays a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror 74 gazed with fatisfaction and wonder on the strange, though splendid, appearance of the domes and palaces, so diffimilar from the ftyle of oriental architecture. In the hippodrome or atmeidan, his eye was attracted by the

twifted column of the three ferpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-ax the under-jaw of one of thefe monsters 75, which in the eye of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and fuch was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on

From the first hour 73 of the memorable twenty- Mahomet II. vithe palace,

⁷³ The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from fun-rife.

⁷⁺ See the Turkish Annals, p. 329. and the Pandects of Leunciavius,

⁷⁵ I have had occasion (vol. iii. p. 22.) to mention this curious relic of Gregian antiquity.

С н A P. observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his feymetar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the foldiers, the public and private buildings had been referved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable inftruments of fuperstition had been removed; the croffes were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the muezin or crier. ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the ezan, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the namaz of prayer and thankfgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars 76. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august, but desolate, manfion of an hundred fucceffors of the great Conflantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the viciflitudes of human greatness, forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant diffich of Perfian poetry: " The spider has " wove his web in the Imperial palace; and the

²⁶ We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102.) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe, in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

owl hath fung her watch-fong on the towers CHAP. LXVIII. " of Afrafiab 77."

Yet his mind was not fatisfied, nor did the His behavictory feem complete, till he was informed of the vicur to the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under an heap of flain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his flioes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy78, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke79, and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And "why," faid the indignant fultan, "did you not " employ these treasures in the defence of your " prince and country?" "They were yours," answered the flave; "God had referved them for "your hands." "If he referved them for me," replied the despot, " how have you presumed to

⁷⁷ This diffich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the fack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The fame generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

⁷³ I cannot believe with Ducas (fee Spondanus, A. D. 1453, No. 13.), that Mahomet fent round Persia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor: he would furely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.

⁷⁹ Phranza was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monaftery, extort a feeling of fympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neuter, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

CHAP. "with-hold them fo long by a fruitless and " fatal refistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview, he was at length difmiffed with the affurance of pardon and pro-Mahomet condescended to visit his tection. wife, a venerable princess oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A fimilar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state. of whom feveral were ranfomed at his expence: and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was foon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his nobleft captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two fons; and his death is afcribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's luft. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropt an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian fuccour: fuch treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures. has juftly forfeited, his life: nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer truft. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious fultan returned to Adrianople; and fmiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern CHAP. empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and de- He re-peofolate, without a prince or a people. But she ples and could not be despoiled of the incomparable Constanfituation which marks her for the metropolis of tinople. a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bourfa and Adrianople, the ancient feats of the Ottomans, funk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own refidence, and that of his fuccessors, on the same commanding fpot which had been chosen by Constantine 80. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was foon repaired; and before the month of August, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the reftoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the foil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or facred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the effablishment of his feraglio or palace. It is here. in the bosom of luxury, that the Grand Signor (as he has been emphatically named by the

so For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, fee Cantemir (p. 102-109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c. of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16-21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Mollems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians, or even the Jews.

CHAP. Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Afia; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be fecure from the infults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a mosch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and furrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. fame model was imitated in the jami or royal moschs; and the first of these was built, by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the holy apostles, and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the first fiege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr, that the new fultans are girded with the fword of empire 81. Conftantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profuned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects: but his rational policy aspired to collect

⁸¹ The Turbé, or sepulchral monument of Abu Ayub, is described and engraved in the Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence, (tom. i. p 305, 306.).

the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in CHAP. crowds as foon as they were affured of their lives, LXVIII. their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of fatisfaction and horror, they beheld the Sultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crofier or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclefiaftical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the feraglio, prefented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his refidence 82. The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandfon of Mahomet, the Greeks 53 enjoyed above fixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the Sultan, the Christian advocates prefumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generofity, but of justice;

⁸² Phranza (l. iii. c.,19.) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the history of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, inferted in the Turco-Græcia of Crusius (l. v. p. 106—184.). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donayit imperium te in patriarcham "novæ Romæ deligit."

⁸³ From the Turco-Græcia of Crusius, &c. Spondanus (A.D. 1453, N° 21. 1458, N° 16.) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius, threw himfelf in despair into a well.

CHAP. not a concession, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by florm, the other moiety had furrendered on the faith of a facred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been confumed by fire; but the lofs was fupplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times 84.

Extinction of the Imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus.

7 1

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Afia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties 85 which have reigned in Constantinople, should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas 80, the two furviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS,

⁸⁴ Cantemir (p. 101-105.) infifts on the unanimous confent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is effected more honourable to take a city by force than by compofition. But, I. I doubt this confent, fince he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Conftantinople per vim (p. 329.). 2. The fame argument may be termed in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and falutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians.

^{*5} For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond fee Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 195.); for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (p. 244. 247, 248.). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

s6 In the worthless flory of the difputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iii. c. 21-30.) is too partial on the fide of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (l. vilis ix. x.) too diffuse and digressive.

were aftonished by the death of the Emperor CHAP. Constantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to feek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious fultan, who contented himfelf with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats: and while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in fearch of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The hexamilion, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and fo often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were feized by the Turks: they returned from their fummer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninfula with rapine and murder; the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw: and when he had quelled the revolt, his leffonsinculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of neceffity, could reconcile or fuspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and fword: the alms and fuccours of the West were confumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in favage and arbitrary

R 4

executions.

A.D. 460;

CHAP. executions. The diftress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, Loss of the in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irrefiftible force. When he had taken poffession of Sparta, "You " are too weak," faid the Sultan, "to control this " turbulent province: I will take your daughter " to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder " of your life in security and honour." Demetrius fighed and obeyed; furrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Adrianople his sovereign and fon; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea 57. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who prefumed to ftyle himfelf Emperor of Trebizond **; and the negociation was comprized in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life

^{*7} See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcocondyles (Lix. p. 263 -266.), Ducas (c. 45.), Phranza (l. iii.c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 107.).

⁵⁸ Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179.) speaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyffonel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72. and for the province, p. 53-90.). Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two odas of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Memoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17.).

" and treasures by refigning your kingdom? or CHAP. " had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your LXVIII. " treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was fubdued by his own fears, and the example of a Musulman neighbour, the Prince of Sinope so, who, on a fimilar fummons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon The capi- Of Trebiand ten or twelve thousand foldiers. tulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; zond, and the Emperor, with his family, was transported to a caftle in Romania; but on a flight fuspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were facrificed to the jealoufy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation; his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the Sultan: his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly mafter. It not eafy to pronounce whether the fervitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas 90, be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea, the despot escaped to

1461.

89 Ismael Beg, Prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. 1. ix. p. 258, 259.). Peyssonnel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100.) ascribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account feems enormous; yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

90 Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the despot Thomas at Rome (A.D. 1461, N 3.).

Corfu.

CHAP. Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some LXVIII., naked adherents: his name, his fufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his mifery was prolonged by a pension of fix thou. fand ducats from the Pope and cardinals. His two fons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burthensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his fole inheritance; and that inheritance he fuccessively fold to the kings of France and Arragon or. During this transient prosperity, Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of Augustus: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled at the approach of the French chivalry 92. Manuel Palæologus, the fecond fon, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the

Porte:

By an act dated A.D. 1494, Sept. 6. and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, referving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. King of France, the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, N 2.), M. de Foncemagne (Mem. de l' Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539 -578.) has bestowed a differtation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

⁹² See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14.) who reckons with pleafure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rife, 60 miles of an early navigation, eighteen days' journey from Valona to Conftantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

Porte: he was maintained at Constantinople C H A P. in fafety and ease: and an honourable train of LXVIII. Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be fome animals of fo generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind; he accepted from the Sultan's liberality two beautiful females: and his furviving fon was loft in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and Grief and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas terror of Europe, the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was A.D. 1453. dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or feemed to revive, the old enthusiam of the crufades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip Duke of Burgundy entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an affembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings 93. In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a caftle on his back; a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the caftle; she deplored her oppression, and accused the slowness of her champions; the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bear-

⁹³ See the original feast in Oliver de la Marche (Memoires, P. i. c. 29, 30.), with the abstract and observations of M. de Ste Palaye (Memoires fur la Chevaliere, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182-185.). The peacock and the pheafant were diffinguished as royal birds.

CHAP. ing on his fift a live pheafant, which, according LXVIII. to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary fummons, Philip, a wife and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks : his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the affembly: they fwore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the pheasant: and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general fanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the Duke of Burgundy might be fcrupuloufly, and perhaps fincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the fame ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden of to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the fecretary of the Emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius 95, a statesman and

⁹¹ It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and confequently were far more populous than at prefent.

⁹⁵ In the year 1454, Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, 2 view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the feries of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's

orator, describes from his own experience the CHAP. repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It LXVIII. " is a body," fays he, " without an head; a re-" public without laws or magistrates. The Pope " and the Emperor may shine as lofty titles, as " fplendid images; but they are unable to com-" mand, and none are willing to obey: every " ftate has a separate prince, and every prince " has a feparate interest. What eloquence could " unite fo many difcordant and hostile powers " under the same standard? Could they be as-" fembled in arms, who would dare to affume "the office of general? What order could be " maintained?—what military discipline? Who " would undertake to feed fuch an enormous " multitude? Who would understand their " various languages, or direct their ftranger and " incompatible manners? What mortal could " reconcile the English with the French, Genoa " with Arragon, the Germans with the natives " of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number " enlifted in the holy war, they must be over-"thrown by the infidels; if many, by their own " weight and confusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he was raifed to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the profecution of the Turkish war. In the council of Mantua he excited fome fparks of a false or feeble enthusiasm; but when the Pontiff appeared at Ancona, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and

LXVIII.

CHAP, and his effective army confifted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to difband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his fuccessors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy: and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The fiege and fack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the ftorm was inftantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age 95. His lofty genius A.D.1481, aspired to the conquest of Italy: he was posfeffed of a ftrong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated

Death of Mahomet May 3. or July 2.

> 96 Belides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (Istoria Civile, tom.iii. p. 449-455.) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occafionally used the Memorie Istoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4to.). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her dispatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in fense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only feventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69-140.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

with

with the trophies of the New and the Ancient C H A P. Rome 97.

97 As I am now taking an everlafting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius. Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine feries (xxxvi volumes in folio) has gradually iffued (A.D. 1643, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A.D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c. is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Freine du Cange. His fupplemental works, the Greek Gloffary, the Conftantinopolis Christiana, the Familiæ Byzantinæ, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

CHAP. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century. Temporal Dominion of the Popes .- Seditions of the City.-Political Herefy of Arnold of Brescia.-Restoration of the Republic.-The Senators. - Pride of the Romans. - Their Wars .- They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon .- The Jubilee .- Noble Families of Rome. -Feud of the Colonna and Urfini.

LXIX. State and revolutions of Rome. I500.

CHAP. IN the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her for-A.D. 1100 tunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention: and when thatattention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces, they are confidered as fo many branches which have been fuccessively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a fecond Rome on the shores of the Bosphorus, has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; and our curiofity has been tempted to vifit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquest of Justinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tyber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been

been already ftripped of her trophies, her gods, C H A P. and her Cæfars: nor was the Gothic dominion LXIX. more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian æra, a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to affert their independence: their bishop became the temporal, as well as the spiritual, father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the fingular conftitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the fame 1: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the flate and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes, about the same time that Conftantinople was enflaved by the Turkish

arms.

The Abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Montesquieu, has afferted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the sirft of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (Reslections sur la Poesie et sur la Peinture, part ii. sect. 16.).

The French and German emperors of Rome, A.D. 1000

In the beginning of the twelfth century 2, the æra of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had paffed the Alps and the Apennine, to feek their imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber3. At some distance from the city, their approach was faluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and croffes; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was

performed

The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or review the xlixth chapter, in the ixth volume of this History.

³ The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. differtat. ii. p. 99, &c.), and Cenni (Monument. Domin. Pontiff. tom. ii. diff. vi. p. 261.), the latter of whom I only know from the copions extract of Schmidt (Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 255—266.).

performed by his fucceffor: the voice of God CHAP. was confounded with that of the people; and LXIX. the public confent was declared in the acclamations of, "Long life and victory to our Lord " the Pope! Long life and victory to our Lord "the Emperor! Long life and victory to the "Roman and Teutonic armies 4!" The names of Cæfar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins; and their jurifdiction was marked by the fword of justice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Cæfars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone fecures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vaffals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly dif-

^{*} Exercitui Romano et Teutonico! The latter was both feen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

Muratori has given the feries of the papal coins (Antiquitat. tom. ii. diff. xxvii. p. 548—554.). He finds only two more early than the year 800: fifty are ftill extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.: but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

LXIX.

CHAP. turbed by the clamour and fedition of the Romans, who encountered their fovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy. and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was infulted, and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial fovereignty, and the triumphof the popes was the deliverance of Rome. Of her two fovereigns, the Emperor had pre-

carioufly reigned by the right of conquest; but

the authority of the popes was founded on the loft,

though more folid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence reftored and

Authority " of the Popes in Rome.

> endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either

natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and the people confirmed his election; and the ecclefiaftical power that was obeyedin Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The fame fuffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was univerfally believed, that Constantine had invested the popes with a temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldeft civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the Emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity

of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries: and the fabulous origin was loft in the real and permanent effects.

The

from affection;

The name of Dominus or Lord was inscribed on CHAP. the coin of the bishops: their title was acknow- LXIX. ledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, right; and with the free, or reluctant, confent of the German Cæfars, they had long exercifed a fupreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties, of Rome, and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a ftill nobler fource of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had refcued from the herefy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of fuperstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and facerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of Paradife would be the furest pledge of earthly obedience. The fanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the perfonal vices of the man. But the virtue; scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the auftere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his fucceffors; and in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their fufferings or their fuccess must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They fometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom, must engage the favour and fympathy of every Catholic breaft. And fometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world: nor could the proudeft Roman be difgraced

LXIX.

CHAP. difgraced by submitting to a priest, whose feet were kiffed, and whose ftirrup was held by the fucceffors of Charlemagne 6. Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes: from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by facrilegious hands; nor could the lofs be compensated by the claim, rather than the possession, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the inceffant and increasing fwarms of pilgrims and fuppliants; the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclefiaftical and fecular causes. A new jurifprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals 1; and from the North and West, the bishops and abbots were invited or fummoned to folicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of

⁶ See Ducange, Gloff. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. tom. vi. p. 364, 365. STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262.); and it was the nicest policy of Rome, to confound the marks of filial and of feudal fubjection.

⁷ The appeals from all the churches to the Roman pontiff, are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (de Consideratione, l. iii. tom. ii. P-431-442. edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750) and the judgment of Fleury (Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclesiastique, iv. & vii.). But the faint, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals; the more enlightened historian investigates the origin, and rejects the principles, of this new juriforudence.

the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, CHAP. that two horses, belonging to the archbishops of LXIX. Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and filver's: but it was foon understood, that the fuccefs, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were oftentatiously displayed; and their expences, facred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly Inconstanattached the voluntary and pious obedience of cy of fuper-fittion. the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the fallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit, and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the prefent, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and fecure poffeffion of the most important bleffings. And it was thus, that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans; who pillaged the

offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without

⁸ Germanici fummarii non levatis farcinis onufti nihilominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum confilio id ufurpatum non credimus (Bernard de Confideratione, I. iii. c. 3. p. 437.). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

⁹ Quand les fauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voila le gouvernement delpotique (Esprit des Loix, l.v. c. 13.); and passion and ignorance are always despotic.

CHAP. computing the number and value of fimilar vifits. which they prevented by their inhospitable falcrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious: and the flave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood, most powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian: yet fuch a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to fense, of sacrificing to a distant motive. to an invifible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or fickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors. and compels him to fatisfy the double debt of piety and remorfe. I have already observed, that the modern times of religious indifference, are the most favourable to the peace and fecurity of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. wealth, whose constant encrease must have rendered them the fole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious fon: their perfons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of diffinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult, the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans difdained

Seditions of Rome against the popes.

dained the yoke, and infulted the impotence, of CHAP. their bishop 10; nor would his education or character allow him to exercife, with decency or effect, the power of the fword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence, which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philofophic hiftorian: "Though the name and au-"thority of the court of Rome were fo terrible " in the remote countries of Europe, which were " funk in profound ignorance, and were entirely " unacquainted with its character and conduct, "the pope was fo little revered at home, that " his inveterate enemies furrounded the gates of "Rome itself, and even controlled his govern-"ment in that city; and the ambassadors, who, " from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to "him the humble, or rather abject, fubmissions " of the greatest potentate of the age, found the " utmost difficulty to make their way to him, " and to throw themselves at his feet "."

Since

¹⁰ In a free conversation with his countrymen Adrian IV. John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the Pope and clergy: Provinciarum deripiunt spolia, ac si the auros Cross studeaut reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altissimus, quoniam et ipsi aliis et sepe vilissimis hominibus dati sunt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24. p. 387.). In the next page, he blames the rashness and insidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts, instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times.

Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated

Succeffors of Gregory VII.
A.D. 1086

—1305.

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to oppofition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown encreased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, fo fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or conftancy by the Romans. the fubjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detefted as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his fucceffors 12. till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the folemn rites of religion, were polluted with fedition and murder. A repetition 13 of fuch capricious

on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was mafter of Normandy, the chapter of Seez prefumed, without his confent, to proceed to the election of a bifhop; upon which he ordered all of them, with the bifhop-elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter." Of the pain and danger they might justily complain; yet, fince they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superstuous treasure.

12 From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary feries of the lives of the popes by the Cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Pifanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inferted in the Italian Hiftorians of Muratori (tom. iii. P. i. p. 277—685.), and has been always before my eyes.

13 The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter be understood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordi-

pricious brutality, without connection or defign, C HAP would be tedious and difgusting; and I shall con- LXIX. tent myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal of Paschal II. ficiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the A.D. 1099 clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His filence exasperated their fury: his pious refufal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice affaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with vollies of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by fuffering and inflicting the calamites of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of his fuc- Gelatius II. ceffor Gelasius the Second, were still more scan- A.D. 1118, dalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani 14, a potent and factious baron, burst into the

nary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a mafter, his great Collection of the Italian Historians, in xxviii volumes; and as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to consult the originals.

14 I cannot refrain from transcribing the high coloured words of Pandulphus Pisanus (p. 384.): Hoc audiens inimicus pacis arque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajapane, more draconis immanissimi sibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa suspiria, accinctus retro gladio

CHAP. the affembly furious and in arms; the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot: and he feized, without pity or respect the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows. wounded with fpurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An infurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who fued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt. of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed. when the Pope was again affaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his facerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons. his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his fucceffor was found alone and half-dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the apostle withdrew from a city in which his dignity was infulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of facerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty 15. These examples might fuffice; but I cannot forget the

> fine more cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Ecclefiam furibundus introiit, inde custode remoto papam per gulam accepit, distraxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclesiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit? et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jesû bono interim dormiente, detraxit ad domum, usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et inclusit.

> Ego coram Deo et Ecclesia dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallem anum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelaf. II. p. 398.).

fufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the CHAP. fecond and third of the name of Lucius. former, as he afcended in battle-array to affault Lucius II. the Capitol, was firuck on the temple by a stone, A.D.1144, and expired in a few days. The latter was fe- Lucius III. verely wounded in the persons of his servants. A.D. 1181 In a civil commotion, feveral of his priefts had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, referving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on affes with their faces to the tail. and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, laffitude or remorfe, the characters of the men, and the circumflances of the times, might fometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the Popewasreflored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by fuch tempefts as had almost funk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord; the churches and palaces were fortified and affaulted by thefactions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Califfus the Second alone had refolution Califfus II. and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the A.D. 1119 metropolis. Among the nations who revered the Innocentil. apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked A.D. 1130 a general indignation; and, in a letter to his difciple Eugenius the Third, St. Bernard, with the fharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatifed the

The LXIX.

Character mans by St. Bernard.

снаг. vices of the rebellious people 16. "Who is ig-" norant," fays the monk of Clairvaux, " of the " vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation of the Ro- " nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and " fcorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to " refift. When they promife to ferve, they aspire " to reign: if they fwear allegiance, they watch " the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their " discontent in loud clamours if your doors, or " your counfels, are shut against them. Dextrous " in mischief they have never learnt the science of "doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, im-" pious to God, feditious among themselves, jea-" lous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers. "they love no one, by no one are they beloved: " and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in " base and continual apprehension. They will " not fubmit; they know how to govern; faith-" less to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, " ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike im-" prudent in their demands and their refusals. " Lofty in promife, poor in execution: adulation " and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the fami-" liar arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity '7; yet the features, however harsh and

As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe, that Bernard, though a faint, was a man; that he might be provoked by refent-

¹⁶ Quid tam notum feculis quam protervia et cervicositas Romanorum? Gens infueta paci, tumultui affueta, gens immitis et intractabilis ufque adhuc, fubdi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere (de Confiderat. Liv. c. 2. p. 441.). The faint takes breath, and then begins again: Hi, invifi terræ et cœlo, utrique injecere manus, &c. (p. 443.).

ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Ro- CHAP. mans of the twelth century 18.

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he ap- Political peared among them in a plebeian character; and herely of the Romans might plead their ignorance of his Brefcia, vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a A.D. 1140. temporal fovereign. In the bufy age of the crufades, some sparks of curiofity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician fect, was fuccessfully transplanted into the foil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the gospel: and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their paffions with their confcience, the defire of freedom with the profession of piety 19. The trumpet of Roman liberty was first founded by Arnold of Brescia²⁰, whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adversaries

ment, and poffibly repent of his hafty passion, &c. (Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 330.).

¹⁸ Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his Annals, has found a fair and eafy excuse. He makes two heads of Romani Catholici, and Schismatici: to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

.19 The herefies of the xiith century may be found in Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. (p. 419-427.), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the xth volume, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

20 The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia, are drawn by Otho, Bishop of Frisingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27. l. ii. c. 21.), and in the iiid book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flourished A.D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris near Basil. (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 1751). The long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guillinan. (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 108.).

could

CHAP. could not deny the wit and eloquence which they feverely felt: they confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard 21, who was likewife involved in the suspicion of herefy: but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; and his ecclefiaftic judges were edified and difarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this mafter, Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the tafte. of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loofely cenfured; but a political herefy was the fource of his fame and misfortunes. He prefumed to quote the declaration of Christ, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the fword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and possessions were lawfully vested in fecular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself, must renounce either their state or their falvation: and that after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would fuffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time, the

preacher

^{11.} The wicked wit of Bayle was amufed in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABELARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (Institut. Hift. Eccles. p. 412-415.).

preacher was revered as a patriot; and the dif- c HAP. content, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop. was the first fruits of his dangerous lessons. the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and after the herefy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the Second 22, in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the fentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the · Alps, till he found a fafe and hospitable shelter in Zurich, now the first of the Swifs cantons. From a Roman station 23, a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually encreafed to a free and flourishing city; where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries 24. In an age less ripe for reformation, the præcurfor of Zuinglius was heard with

Damnatus ab illo Præfule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nostros Nomen ab innocua lucit laudabile vità.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

²³ A Roman inscription of Statio Turicensis has been found at Zurich (D'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642-644.); but it is without fufficient warrant, that the city and canton have usurped, and even monopolifed, the names of Tigurum and Pagus Tigurinus.

²⁴ Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 106.) recapitulates the donation (A.D. 833.) of the Emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the Abbess Hildegardis. Curtim nothram Turegum in ducatif Alamanniæ in pago Durgaugensi, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, flaves, churches, &c. a noble gift. Charles the Bold gave the jus monetæ, the city was walled under Otho I. and the line of the Bishop of Frisingen,

Nobile Turegum multarum copia rerum, is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich. LXIX.

CHAP. applause: a brave and simple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the Bishop of Constance. and even the Pope's legate, who forgot, for his fake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard 25; and the enemy of the church was driven by perfecution to the defperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

He exhorts theRomans to reftore the republic, A.D. 1144 -II54.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion: he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the fervice of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the feven hills. Blending in the same difcourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel, and of classic, enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans, how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to affert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the name of the Emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock 26.

Confiliis armifque fua moderamina fumma Arbitrio tractare suo: nil juris in hâc re Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi Suadebat populo. Sic læfå stultus utrâque Majestate, reum geminæ se fecerat aulæ.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the profe of Otho.

²⁵ Bernard, epistol. excv. excvi. tom. i. p. 187-190. Amidst his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, qui, utinam quam fanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est vitæ. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition for the church.

²⁶ He advised the Romans,

Nor could his spiritual government escape the C HAP. censure and control of the reformer; and the LXIX. inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome²⁷. The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood and the demolition of houses; the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two Popes, Innocent the Second and Anastasius the Fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were fucceeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the Fourth²⁸, the only Englishman who has afcended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and, from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince: they fubmitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father: their guilt was expiated

²⁷ See Baronius (A. D. 1148, N' 38, 39.) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A.D. 1141, N' 3.), as the father of the political heretics, whose influence then hurt him in France.

²⁸ The English reader may consult the Biographia Britannica, ADRIANIV. but our own writers have added nothing to the same or merits of their countryman.

LXIX.

CHAP. by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unfatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbaroffa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had of. fended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and flate. In their interview at Viterbo, the Pope represented to the Emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans; the infults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the herefy of Arnold. which must subvert the principles of civil, as well as eccletiaftical, subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the defire, of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was facrificed to amoment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæfar; the prasfect of the city pronounced his sentence; His execu- the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and hisafhes were caffinto the Tyber, left the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their mafter29. The clergy triumphed in his death: with his ashes, his fect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his

tion, A.D.1155.

fchool

^{32.} Belides the hiftorian and poet already quoted; the last adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Maratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442.).

school they had probably derived a new article of C HAP. faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church LXIX. is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue, that the furreme jurifdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more especially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a Refloration belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their of the Sefirst struggles against the Saxon Othos, the com- nate, A.D.1144. monwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two confuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons?. But this venerable structure disappears beforethelight of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of fenators, of confuls, of the fons of confuls, may fometimes be discovered 31.

³⁰ Ducange (Gloff, Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, DECAR-CHONES, tom. ii. p. 726.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad. ii. I. ii.): Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetustum consulum exemplar summæ rerum præessent. And in Sigonius (de Regito Italiae, l. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the confuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the claffic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

³¹ In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P.i. p. 408.) a Roman is mentioned as consulis natus in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (differt.v.) discovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine conful et dux, Georgius conful et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII., proudly, but vaguely, stiles himself consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator.

C HAP. They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours 32, and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent; but they float on the furface, without a feries or a fubftance, the titles of men, not the orders of government 33; and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the fenate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new conflitution was haftily framed by private ambition or popular enthufiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century. produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The affembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular diftribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the flow operation of votes and ballots, could not eafily be

adapted

³² As late as the xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalphi, &c. the title of imarcs or confuls (See Chron. Sogornini, passim.); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogative. But in general, the names of conful and fenator, which may be found among the French and Germans, fignify no more than count and lord (Signeur, Ducange, Glossar.). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words.

³³ The most constitutional form, is a diploma of Otho III. (A.D. 998). Confulibus fenatus populique Romani; but the act is probably fpurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A. D. 1014, the historian Dithmar (apud Muratori, differt. xxiii.) describes him, a senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum fex rafi barbâ, alii prolixâ, mystice incedebant cum baculis. The fenate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarus (p. 406.).

adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the CHAP. arts, and infenfible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of fuch a diffinction 34? The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military fervice on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the fpirit of chivalry. The jurifprudence of the republic was useless and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were infenfibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preferved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of confuls; had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally fettled on the humble flation of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose or must produce a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants. of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and

³⁴ In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulfair of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 2. Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 144—155.).

LXIX.

CHAP. order, who infulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate 35.

The Capitol.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gaye a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her feven eminences 36, is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a fiege against the victorious Gaul, and the fanctuary of empire was occupied, affaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian 37. The temples of Ju-

35 The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia, is thus stated by Gunther:

> Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetuftos; Nomine plebeio fecernere nomen equestre, Jura tribunorum, fanctum reparare fenatum, Et senio tessas mutasque reponere leges. Lapía ruinofis, et adhuc pendentia muris Reddere primavo Capitolia prisca nitori,

But of these reformations, some were no more than ideas, others, no more than words.

³⁶ After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined, that the fummit of the Capitoline hill next the river is firifly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other fummit, the church and convent of Araceli, the harefoot friars of St. Francis. occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, Roma Antica, I.v.c. 11-16.).

^{77.} Tacit, Histi iii. 69, 70.

piter and his kindred deities had crumbled into C HAP. dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans. an act of freedom, to reftore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the feat of their arms and counsels; and as often as they afcended the hill, the coldeft minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Carfars had been invested with the The coin. exclusive coinage of the gold and filver; to the fenate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper³³: the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The fucceffors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the fenate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the fole direction of the mint: and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long feries of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman fenate afferted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps.

³⁸ This partition of the noble and bafer metals between the Emperor and senate, must however be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the science des Medailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208-211. in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastie).

CHAP. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Chrift is depictured holding in his left hand a book with this infcription: "THE YOW of the Roman senate and people: Rome "THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse. St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling fenator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield 30. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction: and a drawn fword, which he received from the fucceffors of Otho, was the mode of his inveftiture and the emblem of his functions 40. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome: the choice of the people was ratified by the Pope: but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the

The præfect of the

³⁹ In his xxviith differtation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559-569.), Muratori exhibits a feries of the fenatorian coins, which bore the obscure names of Affortiati, Infortiati, Provisini, Paparini. During this period all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII., abstained from the right of coining, which was resumed by his fuccessor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the court of Avignon.

⁴⁰ A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeg (in Baluz. Miscell, tom. v. p. 64- apud Schmidt, Hift. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 265.) thus describes the constitution of Rome in the xith century: Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia spectant ad Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum Imperatorem; five illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de suâ dignitate respicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit hominium, et dominum imperatorum a quo accipit suæ potestatis infigne, scilicet gladium exertum.

conflict of adverse duties4. A servant, in whom C H A P. they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by LXIX. the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they confented without reluctance to the restoration of the præsect. About fifty A.D.1198 years after this event, Innocent the Third, the -1216. most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himfelf from this badge of foreign dominion; he invested the præfect with a banner instead of a fword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or fervice to the German emperors42. In his place an ecclefiaftic, a prefent or future cardinal, was named by the Pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom, the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the fenate43, Number the conscript fathers (if I may use the express and choice fion) were invested with the legislative and exe-

⁴¹ The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Pifan. in Vit. Paschal II. p. 357, 358.) describe the election and oath of the præsect in 1118, inconfultis patribus loca præfectoria . . . Laudes præfectoriæ commitorum applaufum juraturum populo in ambonem fublevant.... confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.

⁴² Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfectura eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem (Gesta Innocent III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487.).

⁴³ See Otho Frifing. Chron. vii. 31. de Gest. Frederic I. I. i.

CHAP. cutive power; but their views feldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently diffurbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly confifted of fifty-fix fenators44, the most eminent of whom were diftinguished by the title of counfellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually. by the people and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region, or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permament conftitu-The popes who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate. and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary facrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the fuccessor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic 45.

[&]quot; Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the fingle senators, of the Capuzzi family, &c. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A.D. 1194) eft temporibus lvi. fenatorum (Ducange, Gloff. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

⁴⁵ Muratori (differt. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785-788.) has published an original treaty: Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, &c. anno 44 fenatus. The fenate speaks, and speaks with authority: Reddimus ad præfens . . . habebimus . . . dabitis presbyteria jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, &c. A chartula de Tenementis Tufculani, dated in the 47th year of the same zera, and confirmed decreto ampliffimi ordinis fenatus, acclamatione P.R. publice Capitolio confiftentis. It is there we find the difference of fenatores confiliarii and simple senators (Muratori, differt. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787-789.).

The union and vigour of a public council was CHAP. dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more ftrong and fimple mode of ad- The office ministration. They condensed the name and of fenator. authority of the fenate in a fingle magistrate, or two colleagues; and, as they were changed at the end of a year, or of fix months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the fenators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction; and as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the paftoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they fought abroad those bleffings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure. which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their fituation, and productive of the most falutary effects 46. They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was fealed with oaths and fub-

⁴⁶ Muratori (differt. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64-92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the Occulus Pafforalis, which he has given at the end, is a treatife or fermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates. fcriptions:

LXIX.

CHAP. fcriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with fcrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their law. ful superior; he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or fix knights and civilians, his affesfors in arms and justice, attended the Podesta47, who maintained at his own expence a decent retinue of fervants and horses: his wife, his fon, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourbly depart till he had fatisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

Brancaleone, A.D. 1252 -1258.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the fenator Brancaleone48, whose fame and merit have been refcued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear forefight of the difficulties of the talk, had engaged him to refuse

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam fumere mavis; An Fidenarum Gabiorumque effe Potestas.

the

⁴⁷ In the Latin writers, at least of the filver age, the title of Potestas was transferred from the office to the magistrate:

⁽Juvenal. Satir. x. 99.) 48 See the life and death of Brancaleone, in the Historia Major of Matthew Paris, p. 741. 757. 792. 797. 799. \$10. 823. 833. 836. 840. The multitude of pilgrims and fuitors connected Rome and St. Alban's, and the refentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppreffed.

the honour of their choice: the statutes of Rome CHAP. were suspended, and his office prolonged to the . term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were fo powerful as to brave, fo obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his fentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the ftrong fhelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a fimple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancaleone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His fervices were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their fake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his fafety. Before his departure, the prudent fenator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome; on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, fustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous refiftance allowed the Romans to compare the prefent with the past; and Brancaleone was conducted from the prison to the

CHAP, the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as foon as envy was appealed by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vafe, was deposited on a lofty column of marble 49.

Charles of Anjou, A.D. 1265 -I278.

The importance of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: inftead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their fenator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemics and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the Pope, and the office of fenator from the Roman people so. As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who faluted with the fame acclamations

50 The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual fenator of Rome; is mentioned by the historians in the viith volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamfilla (p. 592.), the monk of Padua (p. 724.), Sabas Malaspina (l. ii. c. 9. p. 808.), and

Ricordano Malefpini (c. 177. pr 999.).

⁴⁹ Matthew Paris thus ends his account: Caput vero ipfius Brahcaleonis in vafe petriofo fuper marmoream' columnam collocatum, in fignum sui valoris et probitatis, quasi reliquias, superstitiose nimis et pempole fustulerunt. Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et exilirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justities imitator et amator (p. 840:). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii p. 592, 592.) draws a left favourable portrait of this Ghibelline fenator.

the passages of his rival, the unfortunate Con- CHAP. radin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealoufy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff afferts the truth, validity, and use, of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the fenator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous ranks. This prohibitory clause was Pope Marrepealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth, A.D. 1281. who humbly folicited the fuffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the Pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of fenator, and the supreme administration of the republic52, to hold during his natural life, and to exercife at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was The Emgranted to the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and perorLewis the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her A.D. 1328.

⁵¹ The high-founding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal fovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the Sexte of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a facred and perpetual law.

⁵² I am indebted to Fleury (Hift. Eccles. tom. xviii. p. 306.) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Ecclefiaftical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A. D. 1281, Nº 14, 15.

C HA P. two fovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

Addresses of Rome to the

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and fervices in the cause of

Conrad III. Cæfar. The ftyle of their ambaffadors to Conrad A.D.1144. the Third and Frederic the First, is a mixture flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own history . After Lone complaint of his filence and neglect, they exhart the former of these princes to pals the Alps, and assume from their bands the Imperial crown. "We befeech " your majety, not to difdain the humility of " your fons and vaffals, not to liften to the accufations of our common enemies; who caluminate the fenate as hoftile to your throne, who fow the feeds of discord, that they may reap "the harvest of destruction. The Pope and the " Sicilian are united in an impious league to opopose our liberty and your coronation. With " the bleffing of God, our zeal and courage has "hitherto defeated their attemps. of powerful and factious adherents, more especial-"Iy the Frangipani, we have taken by affault "the houses and turrets: some of these are

" occupied

⁵³ These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho Bishop of Frifingen (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. tom. v. p. 186, 187.), perhaps the nobleft of historians: he was fon of Leopold Marquis of Austria; his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the Emperor Henry IV. and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the Gesta Frederici I., the last of which is inserted in the vith volume of Muratori's historians.

coccupied by our troops, and some are levelled CHAP. " with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which . "they had broken, is reftored and fortified for "your fafe paffage; and your army may enter " the city without being annoyed from the caftle " of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all "that we defign, is for your honour and fervice, " in the loyal hope, that you will fpeedily appear " in person, to vindicate those rights which have " been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dig-" nity of the empire, and to surpass the same and "glory of your predeceffors. May you fix your " refidence in Rome, the capital of the world; " give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic kingdom; " and imitate the example of Constantine and "Justinian 54, who, by the vigour of the senate " and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth 55." But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without vifiting Rome foon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and fucceffor, Frederic Barbaroffa, Frederic I. was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the fucceffors of Otho acquired fuch absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. rounded by his ecclefiaftical and fecular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambaffadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a

⁵⁴ We defire (faid the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore fenatûs et populi Romani fuis tenuere manibus.

⁵⁵ Otho Frifing. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 28. p. 662-664.

CHAP. free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the " queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and " friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which " has cast away the yoke of the clergy, and is " impatient to crown her legitimate Emperor. " Under your auspicious influence, may the pri-" mitive times be reftored. Affert the prero-" gatives of the eternal city, and reduce under "her monarchy, the infolence of the world. "You are not ignorant, that, in former ages, " by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and " discipline of the equestrian order, she extended "her victorious arms to the East and West, " beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the cocean. By our fins, in the absence of our so princes, the noble inftitution of the fenate has "funk in oblivion: and with our prudence, our " ftrength has likewife decreafed. We have re-" vived the fenate, and the equestrian order; " the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, " will be devoted to your person and the service " of the empire. Do you not hear the language of " the Roman matron? You were a guest, I have adopted you as a citizen; a Transalpine stran-" ger, I have elected you for my fovereign56; and ce given you myfelf, and all that is mine. Your "first and most facred duty, is to swear and " fubscribe, that you will flied your blood for " the republic; that you will maintain in peace " and justice, the laws of the city and the charters " of your predeceffors; and that you will reward

⁵⁶ Hospes eras, civem feci. Advena fusti ex Transalpinis partibus; principem constitui. co-with

with five thousand pounds of filver, the faithful CHAP. " fenators who shall proclaim your titles in the LXIX. " Capitol. With the name, assume the character, " of Augustus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhaufted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conqueft. "Famous indeed " have been the fortitude and wisdom of the " ancient Romans: but your speech is not sea-" foned with wifdom, and I could wish that " fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. " Like all fublunary things, Rome has felt the " viciflitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest "families were translated to the East, to the " royal city of Constantine; and the remains of " your ftrength and freedom have long fince " been exhaufted by the Greeks and Franks. " Areyou defirous of beholding the ancient glory " of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the " valour of the legions? you will find them in "the German republic. It is not empire, naked " and alone, the ornaments and virtues of em-" pire have likewife migrated beyond the Alps " to a more deferving people 57: they will be em-" ployed in your defence, but they claim your " obedience. You pretend that myfelf or my " predecessors have been invited by the Romans: " you mistake the word, they were not invited; they were implored. From its foreign and

⁵⁷ Non ceffit nobis nudum imperium, virtute fua amictum venit, ornamenta fua fecum traxit. Penes nos funt confules tui, &c. Cicero or Livy would not have rejected these images, the eloquence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Hercynian forest.

CHAP. "domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by " Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in LXIX. " our country: and their dominion was the price " of your deliverance. Under that dominion " your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who " shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the 66 hand of the Franks 58 and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? " Am I not encompassed with the banners of a " potent and invincible army? You impose con-" ditions on your mafter; you require oaths; if "the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous: " if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my " fubjects. Will not my fword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that fword the orthern kingdom of Denmark has been re-" flored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. " All will be given to patient merit; all will be " denied to rude importunity 50." Neither the Emperor nor the fenate could maintain these lofty pretentions of dominion and liberty. United with the Pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican:

his coronation was diffurbed by a fally from the

59 Otho Prifing. de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. p. 720-723. These original and authentic acts I have translated and abridged with

freedom, yet with fidelity.

Capitol;

⁵⁸ Otho of Frifingen, who surely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum); he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the CHAPA Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he LXIX. could not fafely encamp in the prefence of a city of which he ftyled himfelf the fovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he befieged Rome, to feat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pifan gallies were introduced into the Tyber: but the fenate and people were faved by the arts of negociation and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or his fucceffors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercifed by the popes, the crufades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the Second offered in the Capitol the great flandard, the Caroccio of Milan 60. After the extinction of the House of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæfars 61.

Under

60 From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (differt. xxvi. tom.ii. p. 492.) has transcribed this curious fact with the doggrel verses that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi deftinor, ave! Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare justo. Væ Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires. Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dee tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell' anno 1727, una copia desso Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si feopri, nel Campidoglio, presso alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l'avea falto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quatto colonne di marmo sino colla sequente inscrizione, &c. to the same purpose as the old inscription.

⁶¹ The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, is related, with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x. xi. xii.);

C H A P.
LXIX.

Warsofthe
Romans
against the
neighbour-

ing cities.

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian '2 amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," favs Florus, "When Tibur and Præneste, our summer " retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the "Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the " Arician groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sa-" bines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford " a title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either fide of the Tyber was always claimed, and fometimes poffeffed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons affumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

and the reader may compare his narrative with the Hiftoire des Allemands (tom. iii. iv.) by Schmidt, who has deferved the efteem of his countrymen.

⁶² Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Præneste deliciæ, nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. The whole passage of Florus (l. i. c. 11.) may be read with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (Œuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii. p. 634, 635. quarto edition).

turies, the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce CHAP. or deftroy the contumacious vaffals of the church LXIX. and fenate; and if their headstrong and felfish ambition was moderated by the Pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first confuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They affembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; fallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. fieges were tedious and unskilful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealoufy and revenge; and inflead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts. with a rope round their necks, folicited their pardon: the fortifications, and even the buildings, of the rival cities, were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the feats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Oftia, Albanum, Tusculum, Prænefte, and Tibur or Tivoli, were fucceffively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans 63. Of these 64, Porto and Ostia, the two

⁶³ Ne a feritate Romanorum, ficut fuerant Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses, Albanenses, Labrenses, et nuper Tiburtini destruerentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757.). These events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xwiith volume) of Muratori.

⁶⁴ For the flate or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, &c. see the lively picture of the P. Labat (Voyage en Espagne et en Italie), who had not long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate description of which P. Eschinard (Roma, 1750, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

CHAP. keys of the Tyber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled

Battle of

A.D.1167.

Ca Chellerin

with herds of buffalos, and the river is loft to every purpose of navigation and trade. hills, which afford a fhady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again finiled with the bleffings of peace: Frescati has arisen near the ruins of Tufculum: Tibur or Tivoli has refumed the honour of a city65, and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulfed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first flege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tufculum66 and Viterbo67 Tufculum, might be compared in their relative flate to the memorable fields of Thrafymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tufculum; and if we number the flain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterward they

> 65 Labat (tom. iii. p. 233.) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has feverely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: in civitate Tiburtina non vivitur civiliter.

> 66 I depart from my usual method, of quoting only by the date, the Annals of Muratori, in confideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of

Tusculum (tom. x. p. 42—44.).

Matthew Paris, p. 345. This Bishop of Winchester was Peter du Rupius, who occupied the fee thirty-two years (A.D. 1206-1238.) and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (p. 178. 399.).

marched against Viterbo in the ecclesiastical state c HAP. with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the Battle of adverse banners, with the key of St. Peter; and Viterbo, the Pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Thoulouse and a bishop of Winchester. Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the fenate, and the discipline of the legions, been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a fecond conquest. But in arms, the modern Romans were not above, and in arts they were far below, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after fome irregular fallies they subfided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military inftitutions, and in the difgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegeta- The election in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first tion of the Christian princes, the chair of St. Peter was difputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election: the fanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could

the

CHAP. the unfuccefsful competitor long diffurb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been divefted of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established, that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy fee might involve Christendom in controverfy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was overruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a fuperior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of times, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most refpectable of the clergy were divided; and the distant princes, who bowed before the spiritual throne, could not diffinguish the spurious, from the legitimate, idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schisin, from the political motive of oppofing a friendly to an hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to fuffer the infults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience; and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were infligated by avarice or ambition. Rightofthe A peaceful and perpetual fuccession was ascertained by Alexander the Third 68, who finally

cardinals eftablished by Alexander III.

> 68 See Mosheim, Institut. Histor. Ecclesiast. p. 401. 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

> abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and

people, and defined the right of election in the

fole college of cardinals69. The three orders of CHAP. bishops, priests, and deacons, were assimilated to LXIX. each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the posfession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The fenators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the fupreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the fymbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the fmallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, feldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wife regulation, all doubt and fcandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed, that in a period of fix hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the facred college. But as the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and while they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of an head. A vacancy Institution of almost three years had preceded the elevation of the conof Gregory the Tenth, who refolved to prevent Gregory X.

A.D. 1274.

⁶⁹ The origin, titles, importance, drefs, precedency, &c. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1262-1287.): but their purple is now much faded. The facred college was raifed to the definite number of feventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

CHAP. the future abuse; and his bull, after some oppo-LXIX., fition, has been confecrated in the code of the canon law?o. Nine days are allowed for the ob. fequies of the deceafed pope, and the arrival of the absent cardinals: on the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment or conclave, without any feparation of walls or curtains; a fmall window is referved for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is locked on both fides, and guarded by the magiftrates of the city, to feelude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not confummated in three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to a fingle dish at dinner and fupper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a fcanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy fee, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or affuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government of the church; all agreements and promifes among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their folemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire; they are still urged by the personal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot or

⁷⁰ See the bull of Gregory X. approbante facro concilio, in the Sexte of the Canon Law (l.i. tit.6. c. 3.), a supplement to the Decretals, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addressed to all the universities of Europe.

fecret votes has wrapt the ftruggles of the con- C HAP. clave in the filky veil of charity and politeness 72. By these institutions, the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they seemed insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The Emperor Lewis of A.D. 1328. Bayaria revived the example of the great Otho. After some negociation with the magistrates, the Roman people was affembled 73 in the fquare before St. Peter's; the Pope of Avignon, John the Twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of his fucceffor was ratified by their confent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year, and two days journey from the city; and that if he neglected to return

71 The genius of Cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1665), in which he was a spectator and an actor (Memoirs, tom. iv. p. 15—57.): but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (Conclavi de Pontifici Romani, in 4to. 1667) has been continued fince the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the successful candidate: but the next page opens with his funeral.

⁷² The expressions of Cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: On y veçut toujours ensemble avec le même respect, et la même civilité que l'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les colleges; avec la même modessie, qui se remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charitè, du moins en apparence, dui pourroit être entre des freres parsaitement unis.

⁷²Rechiesti per bando (says John Villani) sanatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capitani de 25. e consoli (consoli?), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too impersect to pronounce, how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

CHAP. on the third fummons, the public fervant should LXIX. be degraded and difmiffed 12. But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his ufeless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful fovereign75; and the exclufive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Absence of the popes from Rome.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the fenate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who did not keep as a divine precent their ordinary refidence in the city and diocefe. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy. they escaped beyond the Alps into the hofpitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni,

75 In the first volume of the Popes of Avignon, see the second original Life of John XXII. p. 142-145., the confession of the antipope, p. 145-152. and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

Perugia,

⁷⁴ Villani (l. x. c. 68-71. in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. p. 641-645.) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is sluctuating and inconsistent.

Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When CHAP. the flock was offended or impoverished by the LXIX. absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a ftern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world: by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were faluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the loffes which their defertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the fale of provisions, and the various expences of fervants and strangers who attended the court 76. After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again fummoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were feldom long, or far, diftant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tyber to the Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the Eighth and the

⁷⁶ Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra fuam celare cupiditatem gravissimam contra papam movere cœperunt questionem, exigentes ab eo urgentissime omnia quæ subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitis locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quòd cum audisset papa, præcordialiter ingemuit et se comperiens muscipinlatum, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, Spondanus and Fle my.

LXIX. Boniface VIII. A.D. 1294 -I303.

CHAP. King of France 77. The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulfed by the union of the three estates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the Pope was not against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the Pope refided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horfe, who had been fecretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hoftile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were feduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, feated himfelf in his chair, and awaited, like the confcript fathers of old, the fwords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adverfary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was infulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who refcued him from facrilegious violence; but his imperious foul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is flained with the glaring vices of avarice and

⁷⁷ Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (Histoire particuliere du grand Differend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. P. xi. p. 61-82.).

pride; nor has the courage of a martyr pro- CHAP. moted this ecclefiaftical champion to the honours of a faint; a magnanimous finner (fay the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was fucceeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curfe, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition 78.

After his decease, the tedious and equal suf- Translapense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity tion of the holy see to of the French faction. A specious offer was Avignon, made and accepted, that, in the term of forty A.D.1309. days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list: but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a fwift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with fuch speed and secrecy was the bufiness transacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth 79. The cardinals of both parties were foon

78 It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom.iv. p. 53-57.) be in jeft or in earnest, when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blafted by nature, the obsequious handmaid of the popes.

79 See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64. 80. in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V. the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarraffed with fome difficulties.

C H A P. aftonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they foon discovered. they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promife and affection, to prefer the refidence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascogny, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon so, which flourished above seventy years st the feat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by fea, by the Rhône, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible: the fouthern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were foon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already poffeffed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county's, a populous

32 The comtat Venaissin was ceded to the popes in 1273 by Philip III. King of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the Count of Thoulouse. Forty years before, the herefy of Count Raymond had given them a pretence of feizure, and they derived fome obscure

⁸⁰ The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII. Benedict XII. Clement VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are published by Stephen Baluze (Vitæ Paparum Avenionensium; Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to.) with copious and elaborate notes, and a fecond volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

⁸¹ The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon and Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more suitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The Abbé de Sade is diftracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modefly pleads that many of the local inconveniences of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaims, had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 23-28.).

populous and fertile fpot; and the fovereignty CHAP. of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the LXIX. youth and diffress of Jane, the first queen of Naples and counters of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourfcore thousand florins83. Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been ftrangers: but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the fuccessor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the facred college was filled with French cardinals 4, who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a feries of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the most indiffoluble ties to their native country.

claim from the xith century to fome lands citra Rhodanum (Valesii Notitia Galliarum, p.459. 610. Longuerue, Description de la France, tom.i. p. 376-381.).

⁸³ If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase-money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatem Avenionem emit.... per ejusmodi venditionem pecunia redundantes, &c. (ii^{da} Vita Clement VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272. Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 565.). The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

⁸⁴ Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (Vita iv^{ta}, p. 63. et Baluz. p. 625, &c.). In 1331, the Pope refused two candidates recommended by the King of France, quod xx Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxisse noscuntur in memorato collegio existant (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1281.).

CHAP. LXIX. Institution lee or holy year,

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the most flourishing period of popuof the jubi- lation and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradu-A.D. 1300. ally refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the refort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR 85, was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the Pope had fufficient learning to recollect and revive the fecular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To found without danger the depth of popular credulity,

⁸⁵ Our primitive account is from Cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

a fermon was feafonably pronounced, a report CHAP. was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were . LXIX. produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the customary indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was foon perfuaded by ancient teftimony of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who. in the course of that year, and at every fimilar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome found was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a fwarm of pilgrims who fought to expiate their fins in a journey, however coftly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military All exceptions of rank or fex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be eafy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dextrous clergy, well apprifed of the contagion of example: yet we are affured by a judicious historian, who affifted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand ftrangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A

C HAP. trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect without counting, the heaps of gold and filver that were poured in the altar of St. Paul⁸⁶. It was fortunately a feafon of peace and plenty: and if forage was fcarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhauftible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will fpeedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation folicited Clement the Sixth 57 to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor confolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee 88. His summons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple fcourge of war, peftilence, and famine: many A.D. 1350. wives and virgins were violated in the castles of

The Second jubilee,

Italy:

⁸⁶ See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36.) in the xiith, and the Chronicon Astense, in the xith volume (p. 191, 192.) of Muratori's Collection. Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum raftris, &c.

⁵⁷ The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inferted in the Corpus Juris Canonici (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2.).

⁸⁸ The fabbatic years and jubilees of the Mofaic law (Car. Sigon de Republicâ Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15. p.151, 152.), the fuspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c. may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a profane republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

Italy: and many strangers were pillaged or mur- C H A P. dered by the favage Romans, no longer mode- LXIX. rated by the presence of their bishop 89. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the succeffive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the fecond of thefe terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the protestants, and the decline of superstition, have much diminished the value of the jubilee: yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people ...

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy The nobles was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike op- or barons pressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who foon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The fword of the nobles was broken; their flaves were enfranchifed; their caftles were demolished; they assumed the habits of fociety and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudeft aristocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician

⁵⁹ See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56.) in the xivth volume of Muratori, and the Memoires fur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii p. 75-89.

⁹⁰ The subject is exhausted by M. Chais, a French minister at the Hague, in his Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques, fur les Jubiles et les Indulgences; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo; an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher.

CHAP. was subject to the laws or. But the feeble and diforderly government of Rome was unequal to the talk of curbing her rebellious fons, who fcorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the flate; the barons afferted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and caftles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vaffals and retainers. origin and affection, they were aliens to their country 92: and a genuine Roman, could fuch have been produced, might have renounced these haughty ftrangers, who difdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly ftyled themselves the princes of Rome 93. After a dark feries of revolutions, all records of pedigree were loft; the diftinction of furnames were abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty

⁹¹ Muratori (Differt. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, &c. the analogy of the rest, the evidence of Otho or Frisingen (de Gest. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13.), and the submission of the Marquis of Efte.

⁹² As early as the year 824, the Emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people to learn from each individual, by what national law he chose to be governed (Muratori, Dif-

⁹³ Petrarch attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epiftle, full of bold truths and abfurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the state of the xivth century (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 157-169.).

or the prerogative of valour. These examples CHAP. might be readily prefumed: but the elevation LXIX. of an Hebrew race to the rank of fenators and confuls, is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles 94. In the time of Leo the Ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to Christianity; and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Family of Peter the fon of Leo were fignalifed in the cause Leo the Jew. of Gregory the Seventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the caftle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the fon were the parents of a numerous progeny: their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and fo extensive was their alliance, that the grandfon of the profelyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause: he reigned several years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the pofterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious

⁹⁴ The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435, A. D. 1124, N 3, 4.), who draws his information from the Chronographus Maurigniacenfis, and Arnulphus Sagiensis de Schismate (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P.i. p. 423-432.). The fact must in some degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.

CHAP. of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my defign to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of fplendor to the present time of. The old consular line of the Frangipani discover their name in the generous act of breaking or dividing bread in a time of famine; and fuch benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the Corfi, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the Savelli, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obfolete furname of the Capizucchi is inscribed on the coins of the first fenators; the Conti preferve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the Annibaldi must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero 96.

The Colonna,

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I diftinguish the rival houses

Interea titulis redimiti fanguine et armis Illustresque viri Romana a stirpe trahentes Nomen in emeritos tantæ virtutis honores Intulerant se medios festumque colebant Aurata fulgentes toga sociante catervâ.

⁹⁵ Muratori has given two differtations (xli. and xlii.) to the names, furnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temporate criticifm; yet furely fome ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of base metal.

⁹⁶ The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 641, &c.), describes the state and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A. D. 1295.).

of Colonna and Ursini, whose private flory is CHAP. an effential part of the annals of modern Rome. LXIX. I. The name and arms of Colonna 97 have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Ifraelites in the defert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, attefts the power and antiquity, while it explains the fimple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Pafchal the Second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and Colonna; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with fome lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple 98. They likewife possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tufculum; a flrong prefumption of their descent from the

Ex ipfis devota domus præftantis ab *Urfå*Ecclefiæ, vultumque gerens demiffius altum
Fefta *Columna* jocis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;
Stephanides fenior, *Comites*, *Anibalica*, proles,
Præfectufque urbis magnum fine viribus nomen,

(l. ii. c. 5. 100. p. 647, 648). The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59. p. 174, 175.) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to swear in concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malesactors, outlaws, &c.—a feeble security!

97 It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 647, 648.).

98 Pandulph. Pisan in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P.i. p. 335. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rospigliosi this original sief of *Colonna* (Eschinard, p. 258, 259.).

counts

CHAP. counts of Tufculum, who in the tenth century LXIX. were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote fource was derived from the banks of the Rhine 99; and the fovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of feven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit, and always by fortune 100. About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and fix brothers, all conspicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæfar; while John and Stephen were declared Marquis of Ancona and Count of Romagna by Nicholas the Fourth, a patron fo partial to their family, that he has been delineated in fatirical portraits, imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar 101. After his decease, their haughty

Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rheni, says Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539.) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes, that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533.), that a cousin of the Emperor Nero escaped from the city, and sounded Mentz in Germany.

¹⁰⁰ I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's gallies at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hift. 1.7. tom.iii. p. 55, 56. Murat. Oratio x. Opp. tom.i. p. 180—190.).

¹⁰¹ Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216. 220.

behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most CHAP. implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the LXIX. uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the Eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms 102. He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies; their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tyber were befieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Præneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the fix brothers, in difguife and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their furest asylum: they prompted and directed the enterprise of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who reftored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins which were

Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authorifed the Abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the perfecution of Boniface VIII., the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Ursini, &c. (Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—230. 275—280.). His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

C H A P. granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased Pope. All the spiritual censures and difqualifications were abolished 103 by his prudent fucceffors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient burricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was fignalized in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the Emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in same and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and efteemed as an hero fuperior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Perfecution and exile difplayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his diftress he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country: and when he was asked, " where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of and Urfini, Avignon. II. The Urfini migrated from Spo-

¹⁰³ Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the Emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any ecclefiaftical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. r.); and the last stains of annual excommunication, were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di Sifto V. tom. iii. p. 416.). Treafon, facrilege, and profcription, are often the best titles of ancient nobility.

leto 104; the fons of Ursus, as they are styled in CHAP. the twelfth century, from some eminent person, who is only known as the father of their race. But they were foon diftinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the fenate and facred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celeftin the Third and Nicholas the Third, of their name and lineage 105. Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism: the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celeftin 106; and Nicholas was ambitious for their fake to folicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tufcany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of

- Vallis te proxima misit Appenninigenæ qua prata virentia fylvæ Spoletana metunt armenta greges protervi.

Monaldeschi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Ursini a French

origin, which may be remotely true.

105 In the metrical life of Celestin V. by the Cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.) we find a luminous, and not inelegant, passage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, &c.):

- genuit quem nobilis Urfæ (Urfi?) Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis Fascibus in clero, pompasque experta senatûs, Bellorumque manû grandi stipata parentum Cardineos apices necnon fastigia dudum Papatûs iterata tenens.

Muratori (Differt. liii. tom. xiii. p. .) observes, that the first Ursini pontificate of Celestine III. was unknown: he is inclined to read Urfe

progenies.

166 Filii Urli, quondam Cœlestini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. p. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more confpicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Urfini would disdain the nephews of a modern pope.

VOL. XII.

the

LXIX.

Their hereditary feuds.

CHAP. the greatness of the Colonna, will likewise redound to the glory of the Urfini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud, which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclefiaftical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a specious badge of diftinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Urfini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long fince forgotten 107. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they disputed in arms the vacant republic; and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival fenators. By their private hostilities, the city and country were defolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate fuccess. But none of either family had fallen by the fword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprifed and flain by the younger Stephen Colonna 103. His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the affassination, before the

> 107 In his fifty-first Differtation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

church-

Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222-230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, I. x. c. 220.) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, p.533, 534.) are less favourable to their arms.

church-door, of an innocent boy and his two CHAP. fervants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared fenator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and bears, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble column 109.

1c9 The Abbé de Sade (tom.i. Notes, p. 61—66.) has applied the vith Canzone of Petrarch, Spirto Gentil, &c. to Stephen Colonna the younger:

Orfi, lupi, leoni, aquile e ferpi Ad una gran marmorea colonna Fanno noja favente e à fe damno.

CHAP. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch .- Refloration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi.—His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death .- Return of the Popes from Avignon .- Great Schism of the West .- Re-union of the Latin Church. -Last Struggles of Roman Liberty.-Statutes of Rome .- Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State.

LXX. Petrarch, July 19.

CHAP. IN the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch is the Italian fongster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tufcan rhymes, Italy ap-A.D.1304, plauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric A.D. 1374, poetry: and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthulialm, or affectation, of amorous fenfibility. Whatever may be the private tafte of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a learned nation: yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of fonnets and elegies, with the fublime

¹ The Memoires fur la Vie de François Petrarque (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767, 3 vols. in 4to.) form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject. compositions

compositions of their epic muse, the original wild- CHAP. ness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and LXX. the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover, I am still less qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned2; for a matron fo prolific 3 that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children 4, while her amorous fwain fighed and fung at the fountain of Vaucluse 5. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a fin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was foon diffused from Avignon over France and

The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wife commentators were not agreed whether they should understand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed Virgin, or ______. See the prefaces to the ist and iid volume.

³ Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealousy was not the effect of love, since he married a second wife within seven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, precisely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

⁴ Corpus crebris partubus exhaustum: from one of these is issued, in the tenth degree, the Abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to enquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. p. 122—133. notes, p. 7—58. tom. ii. p. 455—495. not. p. 76—82.).

⁵ Vaucluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (Memoires, tom. i. p. 340—359.). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit, and the moderns are much mistaken, if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

C HAP. Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings6 be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man, who by precept and example revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch afpired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry 7; and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court's, was first invented by the Cæfars of Germany. In the mufical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor ?:

> 6 Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Basil in the xvith century, but without the date of the year. The Abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookfeller, or the amufement of the public.

> 7 Confult Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457-466.). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the visit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum

> 8 From Augustus to Louis, the muse has too often been false and venal: but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a fimilar establishment of a stipendary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furnish twice a year a measure of praise and verse, fuch as may be fung, in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence, of the fovereign. I fpeak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom, is while the prince is a man of virtue, and the poet a man of genius.

9 Hocrates (in Panegyrico, tom. i. p. 116, 117. edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the αγωνας και τα αθλα μεγιτα μη μονον ταχές και ρωμης, αλλα και λογων και γιωμης. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a mufical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in Nerone, c. 23.; Philoftrat. apud Cafaubon ad locum; Dion Caffius, or Xiphilin, l. lxiii. p. 1032, 1041. Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. i. p. 445, 450.)

the belief that Virgil and Horace had been CHAP. crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard 10; and the laurel 11 was endeared to the lover by a verbal refemblance with the name of his miftress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable 12, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, fince he applauds the fuccess of his own labours; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or fecret opposition of envy and prejudice was furmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-fixth year of his age, he was folicited to accept the object of his wifnes: and on the fame day, in the folitude of Vaucluse, he received a fimilar and folemn invitation from the fenate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the

The Capitoline games (certamen quinquenale, muficum, equeffre, gymnicum), were infittuted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4.) in the year of Christ 86 (Censorin de Die Natali, c. 18. p. 100. edit. Havercamp), and were not abolished in the ivth century (Ausonius de Profesioribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (Capitolia nostræ inficiata lyræ, Sylv. 1. iii. v. 31.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

Petrarch and the fenators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hift. Natur. xv. 39. Hift. Critique de la Republique des Lettres, fom. i. p. 150—220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54.).

The pious grandfon of Laura has laboured, and not without fuccess, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the censures of the

grave and the fneers of the profane (torn. ii. notes, p. 76-82.).

C H A P. ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity: but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

His poetic coronation at Rome, April 8.

The ceremony of his coronation 13 was performed in the Capitol by his friend and patron A.D. 1341, the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in fcarlet; fix representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the fenator, Count of Anguillara, a kinfman of the Colonna, affumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the fenator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people fhouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A fonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act of diploma 14 which was

presented

¹³ The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the Abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425-435. tom. ii. p. 1-6. notes, p. 1-13.) from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

¹⁴ The original act is printed among the Pieces Justificatives in the Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 50-53.

presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives CHAP. of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after. the lapfe of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of affuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing in all. places whatfoever, and on all fubjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the fenate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar fociety of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a fentiment, and every fentiment to a paffion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful fon: he dissembled the faults of his fellow-citizens: applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world: the pope and the emperor, the bishop and general, had abdicated their flation by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidft.

CHAP. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence 15. Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were aftonished by a revolution which realized for a moment his most splendid visions. The rife and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages 16: the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard 17 will fometimes vivify the copious, but fimple, narrative of the Florentine18, and more especially of the Roman 19, historian.

> 15 To find the proofs of his enthufiasm for Rome, I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch, or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome (tom.i. p.323-335.). But in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused the present and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

> 16 It has been treated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. du **ceau, whose posthumous work (Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi Tyran de Rome, en 1347) was published at Paris 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemius, canon of Liege, a contemporary historian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat.

med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273. tom. iv. p. 85.).

¹⁷ The Abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was fo deeply engaged (Memoires, tom. ii. p. 50, 51. 320-417. notes, p. 70-76. tom. iii. p. 221-243. 366-375.). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

18 Giovanni Villani, 1. xii. c. 89. 104. in Muratori, Rerum Italica-

rum Scriptores, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970. 981-983.

19 In his third volume of Italian antiquities (p. 249-548.), Muratori has inferted the Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xivth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi; which had been printed at Bracclano 1627, in 4to, under the name of Tomaso Fortifiocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery. Human nature is scarcely capable of fuch fublime or flupid impartiality; but whofoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without defign or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited CHAP. only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an LXX. innkeeper and washerwoman produced the future Birth, chadeliverer of Rome²⁰. From fuch parents Nicholas racter, and Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor defigns of fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, Rienzi. which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to difpense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their " virtue, their justice, their power? why was I " not born in those happy times 21!" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place

²⁰ The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviiith chapter of the Fragments (p. 399—479.), which, in the new division, forms the iid book of the history in xxxviii smaller chapters or sections.

The reader may be pleafed with a specimen of the original idiom; Fò da soa juventutine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, megliore rettuorico, autorista bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce leirore! moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Massimo, moito li dilettava le magnificentie di Julio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la die se speculava negl' intagli di marmo lequali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che esso, che sapesse lejere li antichi patassii. Tutte scritture antiche vulgarizzava; quesse siure di marmo justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove suoco quelli buoni Romani?" dove eneloro somma justitia? poleramme trovare in tempo che "quessi fiuriano!"

CHAP. among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing Pope Clement the Sixth, and the fatisfaction of converfing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a fingle garment and the charity of the hospital. From this mifery he was relieved by the fense of merit or the finile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection; and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and perfuafive: the multitude is always prone to envy and cenfure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the affaffins; nor was it poffible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The bleffings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters22: they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumflance that diffinguished the lions, from the dogs and ferpents, of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the ffreets and

²² Petrarch compares the jealoufy of the Romans, with the eafy temper of the husbands of Avignon (Memoires, tom. i. p. 330.). churches;

churches; and while the spectators gazed with CHAP. curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the fatire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal fovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the fenate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the Emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran 23. A numerous affembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the infcription by a version and commentary 24, and descanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The fupine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of fuch representations: they might fometimes chaftife with words and blows the plebeian

²³ The fragments of the Lex Regia may be found in the Inscriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242., and at the end of the Tacitus of Ernesti, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

²⁴ I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The Lex regia empowers Vespasian to enlarge the Pomœrium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he consounds it with *pomarium* an orchard, translates lo Jardino de Romacioene Italiæ, and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406.), and the French historian (p. 33.). Even the learning of Muratori has sumbered over the passage.

CHAP. reformer; but he was often fuffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus²⁵ was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the good estate, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

He assumes the government of Rome, A.D.1347, May 20;

A prophecy, or rather a fummons, affixed on the church-door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his defigns; a nocturnal affembly of a hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of fecrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprife; that the nobles, without union or refources, were ftrong only in the fear of their imaginary ftrength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apoftolical chamber might relieve the public diffress; and that the Pope himfelf would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After fecuring a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by found of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without

²⁵ Priori (*Bruto*) tamen fimilior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus fimulationem induerat, ut fub hoc obtentú liberator ille P.R. aperiretur tempore fuo Ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus (Opp. p. 536.).

arms before the church of St. Angelo, to pro- CHAP. vide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty maffes of the Holy Ghoft; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, iffued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the fimple Bishop of Orvieto, who had been perfuaded to fuftain a part in this fingular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and three great ftandards were borne aloft as the emblems of their defign. In the first, the banner of liberty, Rome was feated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn fword, was delineated in the banner of justice; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of concord and peace. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little, and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was difturbed by fome fecret emotion which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming considence, the citadel of the republic; harrangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in filent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour.

CHAP. rumour, he returned to his palace, affected to despife this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messengers of Rienzi, that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell inftantly rang an alarm, and fo rapid was the tide, fo urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the fame speedy career till he reached in safety his caftle of Palestrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the fpark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they fhould peaceably retire to their eftates: they obeyed; and their departure fecured the tranquillity of the free and and obedient citizens of Rome.

with the title and office of tribune.

But fuch voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of juftifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of fenator or conful, of king or emperor: hepreferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the effence of that facred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been invested with any fhare in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the confent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most falutary laws for the reftoration and maintenance

Laws of the good estate.

of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the CHAP. wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil fuit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the diforders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death, and every injury with equal But the execution of justice was retaliation. hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formerly provided, that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the ftate: that no private garrifons should be introduced into the towns or caftles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms, or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the fafety of the highways, and the free passage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of filver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the fword of the civil power. A fudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers: the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast, a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce; a ftanding militia of three hundred and fixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was VOL. XII. levied.

CHAP. levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters. of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every foldier who loft his life in the fervice of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of facrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the falt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins26; and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the falt-duty could be trebled by his judicious occonomy. After thus reftoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their folitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government, and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Urfini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon

in one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4. p. 409.) perfumante quatro folli, in another quatro florini, an important variety, fince the florin was worth ten Roman folidi (Muratori, differt. xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear that the former is more confiftent with the decay of Rome and her territory. whom

whom they had fo often derided, and their dif- CHAP. grace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was fucceffively pronounced by the feveral orders of fociety, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artizans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of fincerity and zeal. They fwore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal affociation of the Bishop of Orvietto, the Pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boaft of Rienzi. that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious ariftocracy; and Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affeeted to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title of his trufty fer-The fpeech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he infinuated his claim to a fupernatural mission from the Holy Ghost; enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people 27.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a Freedom fingle mind been more remarkably felt than in the fudden, though transient, reformation of the Ro-Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of rob- man rebers was converted to the discipline of a camp

²⁷ Hocsemius, p. 398. apud du Cerçeau, Hist. de Rienzi, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman hifforian (whom for brevity I shall name) Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 4.

CHAP. or convent: patient to hear, fwift to redrefs, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private fanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would prefume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Urfini family, was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses: and, either from accident or defign, the fame impartial rigour was exercifed against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himfelf been fenator of Rome, was arrested in the ftreet for injury or debt; and justice was appealed by the tardy execution of Martin Urfini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tyber 28. His name, the purple of two cardinals.

²⁸ Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The thip was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marfeilles and

cardinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and CHAP. a mortal difease, were difregarded by the in- LXX. flexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed; his trial was short and fatisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: stript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the fentence of death; and after a brief confesfion, Urfini was led away to the gallows. After fuch an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, foon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (fays the hiftorian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infefted with robbers; the oxen began to plow; the pilgrims vifited the fanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith, were reftored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by

Avignon. 2. The failors were of Naples and the isle of Œnaria, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marfeilles was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tyber, where they took shelter in a storm; but instead of sinding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal; the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped.

4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins; a rich prize.

CHAP. the ftrangers who had enjoyed the bleffings of LXX. his government.

The tribune is respected in Italy, &c.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great fœderative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and affociates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epiftles were delivered to fwift and trufty meffengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the facred fecurity of ambaffadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored heaven for the fuccess of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason; could private interest have yielded to the public welfare; the fupreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine difcord, and closed the Alps against the Barbarians of the North. But the propitious feafon had elapsed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despite, or hate, the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers: they were followed by the ambaffadors of the princes and republics: and in this foreign conflux, on all

the occasions of pleasure or business, the low- C HAP. born notary could assume the familiar or ma- LXX. jestic courtesy of a sovereign29. The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis King of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her husband, had been perfidiously strangled by Jane Queen of Naples: her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a folemn trial at Rome: but after hearing the advocates31, the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the fword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiofity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the pri- and celevate friend, perhaps the fecret counsellor, of brated by Petrarch. Rienzi: his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the Pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was loft in the fuperior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol maintains the

20 It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were aftonished at the ease and majesty of the protector on his throne (fee Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27-34. from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The confciousness of merit and power will fometimes elevate the manners to the station.

30 See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew. in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii. p. 220-229.), and the Life of Petrarch (Memoires, tom. ii. p. 143-148. 245-250. 375-379. notes, p. 21 -37-). The Abbé de Sade wishes to extenuate her guilt.

The advocate who pleaded against Jane, could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his mafter's epiftle. Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter susceptus, et excusatio subsequens, necis viri tui te probant suisse participem et consortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a fingular conformity.

CHAP. act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rifing greatness of the republic32.

His vices

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic and follies. vifions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with aftonishment on the afcending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course, and the viciflitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprifing than refolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason: he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not prefume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the defire of fame with puerile and oftentatious vanity. He might have learned, that the ancient tribunes, fo ftrong and facred in the public opinion, were not diffinguished in ftyle, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian33; and that as often as they vifited the city on foot, a fingle

> 32 See the Epistola Hortatoria de Capessenda Republica, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535-540.), and the vth ecloque or paftoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

³³ In his Roman Questions, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. i. p. 505, 506. edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) states, on the most constitutional principles, the fimple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest aposeo Sai σχηματι, και τολη και διαιτητοις επιτυγχανέσι των πολιτων . . ι καταπα-TELSTON

fingle viator, or beadle, attended the exercise of CHAP. their office. The Gracchi would have frowned LXX. or fmiled, could they have read the fonorous titles and epithets of their fuccessor, "NICHOLAS " SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF ROME; of Defender of Italy 34; friend of Mankind, "AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE; "TRIBUNE AUGUST;" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of fpeaking to the eyes, as well as the underflanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person 35, till it was fwelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propenfity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occafions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or fatin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of justice, which he carried in his hand, was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and crofs of gold, and inclofing a fmall fragment of the true and holy wood.

τειθαι δει (a faying of C.Curio) και μη σεμιον ειναι τη δεμαχχον οψει... οσω δε μαλλον εκταπεινετ αι τω σωματι, τοσετω μαλλον αυξεται τη δυναμει, &c. Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

³⁴ I could not express in English the forcible, though barbarous, title of Zelator Italia, which Rienzi assumed.

³⁵ Era bell' homo (l. ii. c. 1. p. 399.). It is remarkable, that the rifo farçaftico of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his fecond reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano, or Asianio (l. iii. c. 18. p. \$23.).

CHAP. his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white fleed, the fymbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a fun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and filver was fcattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his perfon; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of masily silver.

The pomp of his knighthood, A.D.1347, August 1.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry 36 betrayed the meanness of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure, or luxury, or art, was exhaufted on that folemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclefiaftical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambaffadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or fecretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and difiniffed the numerous affembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day.

³⁶ Strange as it may feem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Urfini, the ufual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were ferved at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol, by the twenty-eight buoni huomini. They afterwards received from Robert King of Naples the fword of chivalry (Hift. Rom. l.i. c. 2. p. 259.).

From the hands of a venerable knight, he received CHAP. the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite fuch fcandal and cenfure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase, in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprofy by Pope Sylvester 37. With equal prefumption the tribune watched or reposed within the confecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfal. At the hour of worship, he shewed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his fword, and gilt fpurs; but the holy rites were foon interrupted by his levity and infolence. Rifing from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We fummon to our tribunal Pope "Clement: and command him to refide in his "diocese of Rome: we also summon the facred " college of Cardinals 38. We again fummon the "two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis " of Bavaria, who ftyle themselves emperors: " we likewife fummon all the electors of Ger-" many, to inform us on what pretence they have

³⁷ All parties believed in the leprofy and bath of Conftantine (Petrarch, Epist. Famil. vi. 2.), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon, that a vase which had been used by a Pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocsemius, apud du Cergeau, p. 189, 190.).

This verbal fummons of Pope Clement VI. which refts on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS. is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p.70—76.) with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not chuse to agitate this delicate question.

" usurped

CHAP. "usurped the inalienable right of the Roman " people, the ancient and lawful fovereigns of the "empire39." Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The Pope's vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was filenced by martial music; and instead of withdrawing from the affembly, he confented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been referved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet fuch as the Cæfars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either fex, and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by difcipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi 40; feven crowns of different leaves or metals were fucceffively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the

and coromation.

DOM: THE

people;

³⁹ The fummons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (Cerceau, p. 163-166.).

⁴⁰ It is fingular that the Roman historian should have overlooked this fevenfold coronation, which is fufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerçeau, p. 167-170. 229.).

people; and their own vanity was gratified in the CHAP. vanity of their leader. But in his private life he foon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the fplendor of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his fon, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expence: and without acquiring the majefty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

A fimple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps Fear and with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of harred of the nobles Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands croffed on their of Rome. " breaft, they flood with downcast looks in the pre-"fence of the tribune; and they trembled, good "God, how they trembled"!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man, whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct foon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of fubverting a power which was no longer fo deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common difgrace: they affociated their wishes, and perhaps their defigns; an affaffin was feized and tortured; he accufed the nobles; and as foon as Rienzi deferved the fate, he adopted the fuspicions and maxims of a

⁴¹ Puoi se faceva stare denante a se, mentre sedeva, li baroni tutti in diedi ritti co le vraccia piecate, e co li capucci tratti. Deh como stavauo paurofi! (Hift. Rom. I. ii. c. 20. p. 439.). He faw them, and we fee them.

CHAP. tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Urfini and three of the Colonna name. instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the found of the great bell the people affembled; they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and though fome might fympathife in their distress, not a hand, nor a voice, was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a fleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a fpeedy death, from fuch ignominious fervitude. In the morning they understood their fentence from the vifit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and fevere; the fwords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the found of trumpets. But in this decifive moment, Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehenfive than his captives: he dreaded the fplendor of their names, their furviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world,

world, and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, C HAP. he vainly prefumed, that, I he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant: and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his mafters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future fervice he pledged his faith and authority. " you are spared," faid the tribune, " by the " mercy of the Romans, will you not promife " to support the good estate with your lives and " fortunes?" Aftonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whifper a fecret, and more fincere, affurance of revenge. A prieft, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution: they received the communion with the tribune, affifted at the banquet, followed the procession; and after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were difinified in fafety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, confuls, and patricians 42.

During fome weeks they were checked by the They opmemory of their danger, rather than of their deli- poseRienzi in arms. verance, till the most powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the caftle were infantly reflored; the

⁴² The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 222-229.), displays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

CHAP. vaffals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate, the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were fwept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum; and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were ftrong, and their caftles impreg-From the pages of Livy, he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amufed by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Urfini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their fecret adherents; and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot and fixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or furprife. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, or infolently open; and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headftrong valour of the nobles in the rear; and after a fuccefsful skirmish, they were overthrown and maffacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restora-

Defeat of and death of the Colonna, Nov. 20.

reftoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied C HAP. in death by his fon John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the eafe and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two baftards of the Colonna race; and the number of feven, the feven crowns, as Rienzi ftyled them, of the Holy Ghoft, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, and the veteran chief, who had furvived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops 43: he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boafted with fome truth, that he had cut off an ear, which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate 44. His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were

43 Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, afcribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himfelf, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewife (1.12. c.104.) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the slight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortificaca, or the anonymous citizen (1 ii.c.34-37.).

44 In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumspice (says Petrarch) familiæ tuæ statum, Colummensium domos: solito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo sundamentum stabile, solidumg; permaneat.

CHAP. fecretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family 45. The people fympathifed in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detefted the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal fpot, that he conferred on his fon the honour of knighthood: and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood 4.

tribune Rienzi. A.D.1347, Dec. 15.

A fhort delay would have faved the Colonna, flight of the delay of a fingle month, which elapsed between the triumph and exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowefs. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city: and when the tribune proposed in the public council 47 to impose a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measures; repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption; and urged him to

46 Petrarch wrote a stiff and pedantic letter of consolation (Fam. l. viiepift. 13, p. 682, 683.). The friend was loft in the patriot. Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.

Je rends graces aux Dieu de n'etre pas Romain. 47 This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollistore, a contemporary writer, who has preferved fome curious and original facts (Rer. Italicarum, tom. xxv. c. 31. p. 798-804.).

prove,

⁴⁵ The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protested by the Colonna Cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinfinen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 110. tom. ii. p. 401.).

prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the CHAP. populace adhered to his cause, it was already difclaimed by the most respectable citizens. Pope and the facred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the infolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was fent to Italy, and after fome fruitless treaty, and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, facrilege, and herefy 48. The furviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a fense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, Count of Minorbino 49 in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by foliciting his releafe, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty foldiers, the Count of Minorbino introduced himfelf into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna:

⁴⁹ The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi, are translated by the P. du Cerçeau (p. 196. 232.) from the Ecclesiafical Annals of Rodericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, N° 15. 17. 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

⁴⁹ Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this Count of Minorbino, a man de natura inconstante e senza sede, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saraceas of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103.). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—151.

CHAP. and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol inceffantly tolled; but, inftead of repairing to the well-known found, the people was filent and inactive; and the pufillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with fighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Revolutions of Rome, -1354.

Without drawing his fword, Count Pepin reflored the aristocracy and the church; three A.D.1347 fenators were chofen, and the legate affuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Urfini. acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name, that the barons hefitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the caftle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vifion of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was fcarcely observed, that the new fenators derived their authority from the Apostolic See; that four cardinals were appointed to reform, with dictatorial power, the state of the Rome was again agitated by the republic. bloody feuds of the barons, who detefted each other, and despised the commons: their hostile fortreffes, both in town and country, again rofe, and were again demolished; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured.

ed, fays the Florentine hiftorian, by these rapa. CHAP. cious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two fenators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Urfini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was fuccessively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint ftruggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was diffinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans fighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate 50.

After an exile of feven years, the first deli- Advenverer was again restored to his country. In the tures of Rienzi. difguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the caftle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the Kings of Hungary and Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer,

50 The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33.57.78.) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1-4.). I have flightly passed over these fecondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

AA3

mingled

CHAP. mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His perfon was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The Emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic; and astonished an affembly of ambaffadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfal of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost 51. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he fupported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irrefiftible fummons of the fupreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the fufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the faviour of Rome was delivered by her Emperor into the hands of her Bishop. Rienzi was transported flowly, but in fafe cuftody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of herefy and rebellion.

A prisoner at Avignon, A.D.1351.

> 51 These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are furely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquisitor (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. c. 36. p. 819.). Had the tribune taught, that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, tha tthe tyranny of the Pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of herefy and treason, without offending the Roman people.

But

But his trial and condemnation would have in- CHAP. volved fome questions, which it was more prudent LXX. to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the Popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclefiaftical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deferved the appellation of Clement: the strange viciflitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and efteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and facred character of a poet52. Rienzi was indulged with an eafy confinement and the use of books; and in the affiduous fludy of Livy and the bible, he fought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The fucceeding pontificate of Innocent the Rienzi. Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance fenator of Rome, and reftoration; and the court of Avignon was A.D. 1354. perfuaded, that the fuccessful rebel could alone appeale and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a folemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was fent into Italy, with the title of fenator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to fuperfede the use of his mission; and the legate, Cardinal Albornoz 53, a confummate flatesman,

52 The aftonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The Abbé de Sade (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the fixth epistle of the xiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he confulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 920-).

53 Ægidius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, Archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1353-1367), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the Popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reafonably suppose, that his name or that of Wolfey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

allowed

C H A P. allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wifnes: the day of his entrance was a public feftival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary funshine was foon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and after a fecond administration of four months, Rienzi was maffacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the fociety of the Germans and Bohemians, he is faid to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adverfity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively affurance, which is the pledge of fuccefs, was now fucceeded by the cold impotence of diffrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the fenator was the fervile minister of a foreign court; and while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who feemed defirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all fupplies of men and money; a faithful fubject could no longer prefume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of atax was the fignal of clamour and fedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of felfish cruelty: the most virtuous citizen of Rome was facrificed to his jealoufy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been affifted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor.

debtor54. A civil war exhaufted his treasures, and CHAP. the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries foon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all fubordinate merit. In the death, as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were ftrangely mingled. When the Capitol was invefted by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servants, the intrepid fenator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addreffed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to perfuade them, that in the same cause himself and the republic must either ftand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and after an arrow had transpierced his head, he funk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was belieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were deftroyed with axes and fire: and while the fenator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he flood amidst the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiofity and wonder: the last feelings of

⁵⁴ From Matteo Villani and Fortifiocca, the P.du Cerçeau (p. 344—394.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable; he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

LXX. Sept. 8.

C HAP. reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold His death. affaffin had not plunged a dagger in his breaft. A.D. 1354, He fell fenfeless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the fenator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and fervitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the last of the Roman patriots 55.

Petrarch upbraids the Emperor Charles IV. A.D. 1355, January-May.

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch invites and was the restoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the The Capitol was yet stained with the Romans. blood of Rienzi, when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his paffage through Milan he received the vifit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promifed, without a finile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the fource of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeasurable diftance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been

⁵⁵ The exile, fecond government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12-25.). Petrarch, who loved the tribune, was indifferent to the fate of the fenator. elected

elected the titular head of the Germanaristocracy. CHAP. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himfelf, by afecret treaty with the Pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was purfued by the reproaches of the patriot bard 56.

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third He folicits and more humble wish, was to reconcile the shep- of Avignon herd with his flock; to recal the Roman bishop to fix their to his ancient and peculiar diocefe. In the fervour at Rome. of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addreffed his exhortations to five fuccessive Popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthufiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language⁵⁷. The for of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education; and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promifcuoufly bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the myflic Babylon, the fink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and con-

the Popes

⁵⁶ The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably defcribed in his own words by the French biographer (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 375-413.); but the deep, though fecret, wound, was the coronation of Zanubi the poet-laureat, by Charles IV.

⁵⁷ See in his accurate and amufing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (Memoires, tom. i. p. 261-265.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45-47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677-691.): his praise (p. 711-715.) and excuse (p. 771.) of the last of these pontists. His angry controverly on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found (Opp. p. 1068-1085.).

CHAP. tempt; but he forgets that her fcandalous vices were not the growth of the foil, and that in every refidence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses, that the fucceffor of St. Peter is the bishop of the univerfal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tyber, that the apostle had fixed his everlafting throne: and while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was defolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the facred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their faints, were left in a flate of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse 59. But the cloud which hung over the feven hills, would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the Pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the Twenty-fecond, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clementthe Sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change

He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The Epistles to Urban V. in profe are more fimple and persuasive (Senilium, 1. vii. p. 811-827. 1. ix. epift. i. p. 844-854.).

Squalida fed quoniam facies, neglecta cultû Cæsaries; multisque malis lassata senectus Eripuit folitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen; Roma vocor. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)

which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth, CHAP. was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their defign was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France who has deferved the epithet of wife, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their Return of eyes, Italy was foreign or hoftile; and they reluc- Urban V. tantly embarked at Marfeilles, asif they had been October fold or banished into the land of the Saracens. 16-Urban the Fifth refided three years in the Vatican April 17. with fafety and honour: his fanctity was protected. by a guard of two thousand horse; and the King of Cyprus, the Queen of Naples, and the Emperors of the East and West, devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was foon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was faved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of Heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a faint and pilgrim, difapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the Fifth: the migration of Gregory the Eleventh Final rewas encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the turn of Gregory spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Floren-XI. tines; and the popes themselves, the great masters A.D.1377, Jan. 17. of human credulity, appear to have liftened to

thefe

CHAP. these visionary females 59. Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The refidence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ranfom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the facred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new herefy of the most dangerous import 60. While the Pope was driven from Avignon, he was ftrenuously invited to Rome. Thefenate and people acknowledged him as their lawful fovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortreffes; of the quarter at least beyond the Tyber 61. But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer fuffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and affert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount

⁵⁹ I have not leifure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last solemn words of the dying pope, who admonished the assistants, ut caverent ab hominibus, five viris, five mulieribus, fub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse seductus, &c. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionensium, tom. i. p.1223.).

⁶⁰ This predatory expedition is related by Froiffard, (Chronique, tom. i. p. 230.), and in the life of du Guesclin (Collection Generale des Memoires Historiques, tom. iv. c. 16. p. 107-113.). As early as the year 1361 the court of Avignon had been molested by similar freebooters, who afterwards passed the Alps (Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 563-569.).

⁶¹ Fleury alleges, from the annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was figned the 21st of December 1376, between Gregory XI. and the Romans (Hift. Ecclef. tom. xx. p. 275.).

Cassin had been consulted whether he would ac- C H A P. cept the triple crown 52 from the clergy and people; "I am a citizen of Rome 63," replied that venerable ecclefiaftic, " and my first law is the " voice of my country 64."

If superstition will interpret an untimely death⁶⁵; His death, if the merit of counsels be judged from the event; A.D.1378, March 27. the heavens may feem to frown on a measure of fuch apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the Eleventh did not furvive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which diftracted the Latin church above forty years.

⁶² The first crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. v. p. 702.) on the episcopal mitre of the popes, is ascribed to the gift of Conftantine, or Clovis. The fecond was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Memoires fur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

63 Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion, tom. i. p. 1194, 1195.). produces the original evidence which attefts the threats of the Roman ambaffadors, and the refignation of the abbot of mount Cassin, qui ultro se offerens, respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

64 The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionenfium, tom. i. p. 363 -486.), and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610 -712.). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely, though partially, fcrutinized; more especially in the great inquest, which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals from a MS. volume in the Harlay library (p. 1281, &c.).

65 Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the foul? They betray the inftability of their faith. Yet as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, όν οι θεος Φιλισσιν αποθνεσκει νεος (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231.). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) the moral and pleafing tale of the Argive youths.

The

LXX.

C H A P. The facred college was then composed of twentytwo cardinals: fix of these had remained at Avig-

Election of · Urban VI. April 9.

non; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the Archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who afcended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epiftle of the facred college affirms his free, and regular, election; which had been inspired, as ufual, by the Holy Ghoft: he was adored, invested, and crowned, with the customary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclefiaftical fupremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During feveral weeks, the cardinals attended their new mafter with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty; till the fummer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of fecurity, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falfehood and hypocrify, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded Election of to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were mafters of the election; and whatever might

Clement VII. Sept. 21.

might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot C H A P. fairly be prefumed that they would have facri- LXX. ficed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconfiftent, narratives 65, the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiousness of the feditious Romans was inflamed by a fense of their privileges, and the danger of a fecond emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; fome preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and had they chosen a Transalpine fubject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The fame constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger: and they foon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber fix cardinals groaning

⁶⁶ In the first book of the Histoire du Concile de Pise, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

CHAP. on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly cenfured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the flations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the facred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repaffing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church, and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools 67. The vanity rather than the interest of the nation determined the court and clergy of France 63. The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castille, Navarre, and Scotland were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England 69, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was fucceeded

68 Baluze strenuously labours (Not. p. 1271-1280.) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. King of France; he refused to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbanists equally

deaf to the reasons of Clement, &c.?

⁶⁷ The ordinal numbers of the popes feem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly stigmatised as antipopes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Præfat.). It is fingular, or rather it is not fingular, that faints, vifions, and miracles, should be common to both parties.

⁶⁹ An epiftle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553.) displays the zeal of the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the Bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond fea (Hume's Hiftory, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.).

by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, CHAP. LXX.

and Gregory the Twelfth.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhône, Great

the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with schiffs of the West, the pen and the fword: the civil and ecclefiaf- A.D 1378 tical order of fociety was disturbed, and the -1418. Romans had their full share of the mischiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors 70. They had vainly flattered themfelves with the hope of reftoring the feat of the ecclefiaftical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain Calamities diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor of Rome. could the lofs be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the fchism, by foreign arms, and popular tumults. Urban the Sixth and his three fucceffors were often compelled to interrupt their refidence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Urfini ftill exercifed their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome afferted and abused the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Chrift, who had levied a military

force, chaftifed their rebellion with the gibbet, the fword, and the dagger: and in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invalion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had purfued their domestic quarrels

⁷º Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

CHAP. without the dangerous interpolition of a strang But in the diforders of the fchifm, an afpiring neighbour, Ladislaus King of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the Pope and the people: by the former he was declared gonfalonier, or general, of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Beslieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrifon in the caftle of St. Angelo. His arms were fometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could fave the metropolis and the ecclefiaftical state from the ambitious conqueror who had affumed the title, or at leaft the powers, of King of Rome 71.

Negociations for peace and union, A.D. 1392 -- I407.

I have not undertaken the ecclefiaftical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters is deeply interested in the disputed fuccession of her fovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most con-

fummate.

⁷¹ It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292.) that he styled himfelf Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world fince the expulsion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of Rex Ramæ, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

fummate masters of theological science 72. Pru- C H A P. dently waving all invidious inquiry into the . LXX. origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed. as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should substract 13 their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of an hasty choice: but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties: and whatfoever promifes were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific defigns of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the viciflitudes of French factions, that ruled the infanity of Charles the At length a vigorous refolution was embraced; and a folemn embaffy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty

72 The leading and decifive part which France affumed in the schiffn, is stated by Peter du Puis in a separate History, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the 7th volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110—184.).

⁷³ Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. x. p. 1—78.), has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils f Pisa and Constance.

CHAP. doctors, was fent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who ftyled himfelf Benedict the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who affumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the fuccefs of their commission, the ambasiadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration, that the most christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican which he confidered as the genuine and proper feat of the fuccessor of St. Peter. In the name of the fenate and people, an eloquent Roman afferted their defire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long fchism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the King of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common fpirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be afcertained by mutual confent. "If the one advances," fays a fervant of Gregory "the other retreats: " the one appears an animal fearful of the " land, the other a creature apprehensive of " the water. And thus, for a short remnant " of life and power, will these aged priests e endanger 16

" endanger the peace and falvation of the Chrif- CHAP. " tian world 74,"

LXX.

The Christian world was at length provoked Council of by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deferted Pifa, by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous affembly of prelates and ambaffadors. With equal juftice, the council of Pifa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the Fifth, and his vacant feat was foon filled by a fimilar election of John the Twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind. But instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the fynod and conclave were disputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth; and Benedict the Thirteenth, 'himfelf a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were cor- council of rected by the council of Constance; the Empe-Constance, ror Sigifmond acted a confpicuous part as the A.D. 14 advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclefiaftical members might feem to conflitute the states-general of Europe. Of the three popes. John the Twenty-third was the first victim; he

⁷⁴ Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of claffic learning in Italy, who, after ferving many years as fecretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lenfant has given the version of this curious epistle (Concile de Pise, tom. i. p. 192-195.).

CHAP. fled and was brought back a prisoner: the most fcandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, fodomy, and incest; and after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prifon the imprudence of trufting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambaffador convened the fession, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth or his adherents, the Emperor in person undertook a journey from Conftance to Perpignan. The kings of Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a folitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deferted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Conftance proceeded with flow and cautious steps to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; fix of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the English 75: the interference

⁷⁵ I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France.

terference of strangers was softened by their CHAP. generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; LXX. and the hereditary, as well as personal, merit Election of of Otho Colonna recommended him to the con- Martin V. clave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the nobleft of her fons; the ecclefiaftical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the Fifth is the æra of the reftoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican 76.

latter contended, that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the leffer kingdoms (fuch as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English afferted, that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be confidered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orknies, the British Islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island from North to South measures 800 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches, (a bold account !) befides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A. D. 1360.), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the Emperor Maximilian I., and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipfic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only feen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447. 453, &c.).

76 The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candor, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form fix volumes in quarto; and as Bafil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the Collection.

The

CHAP. LXX. Eugenius IV. A.D.1431.

> Laft revolt of Rome, A.D. 1434, May 29-October 26.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercifed near three hundred years by the fenate, was first refumed by Martin the A.D. 1417. Fifth 71, and his image and superscription introduce the feries of the papal medals. Of his two immediate fuccesfors, Eugenius the Fourth was the last pope expelled by the tumults of the Nicholas V. Roman people 78, and Nicholas the Fifth, the last who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor 79. I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Bafil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, selected feven governors of the republic, and a conftable of the Capitol; imprisoned the Pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot vollies of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison, and a train of artil-

78 Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. P. i. p. 869. and tom. xxv. p. 256.) the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the fpot, fpeaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of prieftly and popular tyranny.

73 The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (Concile de Balle, tom. ii. p. 276-288.) from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and

actor in that fplendid fcene.

⁷⁷ See the xxviith Differtation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the 1st Instruction of the Science des Medailles of the Pere Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and . his fucceffors, has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian: but I understand, that the first part of the feries is restored from more recent coins.

lery: their batteries inceffantly thundered on CHAP. the city, and a bullet more dextroufly pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and scattered with a fingle shot the heroes of the republic. Their conftancy was exhaufted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wifeft patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was faluted as the father of the city. The fynods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or refentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to fecure their loyalty and his own repofe, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excife. II. Rome was reftored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the Fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the Pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the Third of Auftria; though Laft corohis fears could not be justified by the character nation of a German or the power of the Imperial candidate. After emperor, drawing his military force to the metropolis, III. and imposing the best security of oaths so and A.D. 1452,

March 18.

80 The oath of fidelity imposed on the Emperor by the Pope, is recorded and fanctified in the Clementines (1. ii. tit.ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not forefee, that in a few years he should ascend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of BonifaceVIII.

treaties.

CHAP. treaties, Nicholas received with a fmiling countenance the faithful advocate and vaffal of the So tame were the times, fo feeble was church. the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony: but the fuperfluous honour was fo difgraceful to an independent nation, that his fucceffors have excufed themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican; and rest their imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

The flatutes and government of Rome.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleafure, that the King of the Romans, after passing with a flight falute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, diftinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace st. According to the laws of Rome 82, her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a fevere fcrutiny was inflituted into the conduct of the

departing

⁸¹ Lo fenatore di Roma, vestito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infessura, p. 1132.).

⁸² See in the statutes of Rome, the fenator and three judges (l.i. c. 3-14.), the confervators (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17. l. iii. c. 4.), the caporiori (l. i. c. 18. l. iii. c. 8.), the fecret council (l. iii. c. 2.), the common council (l. iii. c. 3.). The title of feuds, defiances, alls of violence, &c. is spread through many a chapter (c. 14-40.) of the second book.

departing fenator; nor could he be recalled to the C HAP. same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal falary of three thousand florins was affigned for his expence and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season, of a lighter filk: he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre; the found of trumpets announced his approach; and his folemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to observe and affert the laws, to controul the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was affifted by three learned strangers, the two collaterals, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are attested by the laws; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed affociations for mutual defence. But the fenator was confined to the administration of justice: the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three conservators, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions affembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or caporioni; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the prior. The popular legislature confisted of the secret and the common

LXX.

CHAP. common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some siscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-fix. and forty counsellors, amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty perfons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wife and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to fpeak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all diforderly acclamations were suppressed; the fense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman fenate and people. It would not be easy to affign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and conftant practice, fince the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, the ancient flatutes were collected, methodifed in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the Thirteenth 83: this civil and criminal code is the modern

⁸³ Statuta almæ Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max a Senatû Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. 1580, iz folio. The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were

modern law of the city; and, if the popular af- C H A P. femblies have been abolished, a foreign senator. with the three confervators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol 84. The policy of the Cæfars has been repeated by the popes; and the Bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as a spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth, that the times must Conspiracy be fuited to extraordinary characters, and that of Porcaro, the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now A.D. 1433 expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm January 9. of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the fame enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of yulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of priefts is most odious to a liberal spirit: every fcruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation: Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians: and as often as Porcaro revolved the

confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

84 In my time (1765), and in M. Grofley's (Observations fur l'Italie, tom. ii. p. 361.), the fenator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a profelyte to the Catholic faith. The Pope's right to appoint the fenator and the confervator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the statutes.

CHAP. ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they liftened with apparent pleafure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and flate. By every law the feditious orator was guilty of treafon; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and efteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to enflame the cafual difpute of some boys and mechanics into a general rifing of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of prefenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a confpiracy were gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, affembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feaft was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared 13

appeared among them in a robe of purple and CHAP. gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise: the name and liberties of Rome; the floth and pride of their ecclefiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellowcitizens; three hundred foldiers and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be eafy (he faid), on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the Pope and his cardinals, before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's: to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their inftant death a furrender of the caftle: to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarmbell; and to reftore in a popular affembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The fenator, with a ftrong guard, invefted the house: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a cheft, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his defign. fuch manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was filent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the facraments; and amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, VOL. XII.

CHAP. and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country 85. But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have fince rifen in a vacancy of the throne or a fcarcity of bread, fuch accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

Last diforders of the nobles of Rome.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses were a fortress and a fanctuary: and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hospitality with the fervice of their fwords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiss, or their nephews, fometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was diffracted by the battles and fieges of the rival houses: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the fpot, for refusing to join in the acclamations

⁸⁵ Besides the curious though concise narrative of Machiavel (Istoria Florentina, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. p. 210, 211. edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to.), the Porcarian conspiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infessiura (Rer. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1134, 1135.), and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Alberti (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. p. 609-614.). It is amufing to compare the style and fentiments of the courtier and citizen. Facinus profecto quo . . . neque periculo horribilius, neque audacià deteftabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditiffimo uspiam excogitatum sit Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma.

of the victorious Urfini 86. But the popes no CHAP. longer trembled in the Vatican: they had ftrength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the strangers, who observed these partial disorders, admired the eafy taxes and wife administration of the ecclefiaftical flate 87.

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on The popes the force of opinion; and if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly dominion waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is of Rome, exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the fword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel; the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlifted under the banners of the Pope: his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours

acquire the absolute A. D. 1500, &c.

86 The diforders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. are exposed in the Diaries of two spectators, Stephen Infessura, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1083. 1158.

87 Est toute la terre de l'eglise troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Urfins), come nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Cabalian; et quand ce ne seroit ce differend la terre de l'eglise seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets, qui soit dons tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailes ni gueres autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car taujours les papes sont sages et bien conseilles); mais très souvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

CHAP. and loyal fubjects 88. Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclefiaftical ftate extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the fixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal fovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the fuccessive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times 89. In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might fuccessfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as foon as

the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain,

89 More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra-Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose, to dispute

the prize with Italy herself.

contended

By the economy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclefiaftical flate was raifed to two millions and a half of Roman erowns (Vita, tom. ii. p. 291—296.); and fo regular was the military establishment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iii. p. 64.). Since that time (A. D. 1597), the papal arms are happily rusted; but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.

contended with gigantic arms for the dominion CHAP. of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of LXX. ftrength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their afpiring views, and the immortal hope of chacing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the foldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned feven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals 90. After this fevere leffon, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost fatisfied, refumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hafty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish Sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples . The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the fea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to main-

tain

⁹⁰ In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 319—322.); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the Ies scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

⁹¹ The ambitious and feeble hoftilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV. may be feen in Thuanus (l. xvi—xvii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, prefumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Chriss; yet the holy character, which would have sanctified his victory; was decently applied to protect his defeat.

CHAP. tain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the fixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people: and instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the afylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were inclosed on all fides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their anceftors, and infenfibly became the fervants of luxury and government. Inflead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was confumed in the private expences, which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power of the lord 92. The Colonna and Urfini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique fplendour was rivalled or furpaffed by the fudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and difcord is no longer heard; and instead of the foaming torrent, a fmooth and ftagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and fervitude.

A Chrif-

⁹² This gradual change of manners and expence is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 495-504.) who proves, perhaps too feverely, that the most falutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most felfish causes.

A Christian, a philosopher 93, and a patriot, CHAP. will be equally fcandalized by the temporal king. dom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, The ecclethe remembrance of her confuls and triumphs, fiaffical government. may feem to embitter the fense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclefiaftical government, it may be praifed in its present state, as a mild, decent, and tranquil fystem, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the fallies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a feptennial, election of a fovereign, who is feldom a native of the country: the reign of a young statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. the trammels of fervile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deferve the efteem of a rational being: to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues: to place the faints of the kalendar 94 above

⁹³ Mr. Hume (Hift. of England, vol. i. p. 389.) too hastily concludes, that if the civil and ecclefiaftical powers be united in the fame person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, fince the temporal character will always predominate.

⁹⁴ A protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis

C H A P. the heroes of Rome and the fages of Athens; and to confider the miffal, or the crucifix, as more ufeful inftruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners; from fludy and experience he may fuspect the mystery of his profession; but the facerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the Fifth 95 burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloifter. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the profane fanctuaries of Rome 96, formed a naval and military force, reftored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the caftle of St. Angelo.

Sixtus V. A.D. 1585-1590.

> or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the statues of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

> 95 A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vita di Sifto-Quinto (Amftel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo.), a copious and amufing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts are supported by the annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A. D. 1585-1590), and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2. l. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c.8.).

95 These privileged places, the quartieri or franchises, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum franchitiarum hujusmodi nomen: and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot differn either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who, in 1687, fent his ambaffador, the Marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and infult Pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (Vita di Sifto V. tom. iii. p. 262-278. Muratori, Annali D'Italia, tom. xv. p. 494-496. and Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. ii. c. 14. p. 58, 59.).

But

But his justice was fullied with cruelty, his CHAP. activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest; after his decease, the abuses revived; the treasure was diffipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his ftatue was demolished by an ungrateful, or an injured, people 97. The wild and original character of Sixtus the Fifth ftands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclefiaftical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind, nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome 98.

⁹⁹. This outrage produced a decree, which was inferibed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom: Si quis, sive privatus, sive magistratum gerens de collocandà vivo pontifici stratua mentionem facere ausit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munerum expers esto MDXC. mense Augusto (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 469.). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue, should himself impose the prohibition.

⁹⁸ The histories of the church, Italy and Christendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often discover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xivth and xvth centuries are preserved in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeschi (Ludovici Boncomitis) Fragmenta Annalium Roman. A.D. 1328, in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N.B. The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates his own death at the age of 115 years.

2. Fragmentæ Historiæ Romanæ (vulgo Thomas Fortificcæ), in Romana Dialecto vulgari (A. D. 1327—1354, in Muratori, Antiquitat

CHAP.

quitat. medii Ævi Italiæ, tom. iii. p. 247—548.: the authentic ground-work of the history of Rienzi.

 Delphini (Gentilis) Diarium Romanum (A.D. 1370—1410), in the Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.

4. Antonii (Petri) Diarium Rom. (A.D. 1404—1417), tom. xxiv. p. 969.

 Petroni (Pauli) Mifcellanea Historica Romana (A.D. 1433—1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.

6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) Diarium Rom. (A.D. 1472—1484), tom. xxiii. p. 81.

 Anonymi Diarium Urbis Romæ (A.D. 1481—1492), tom. iii. P. ii, p. 1069.

Înfeffiræ (Stephani) Diarium Romanum (A. D. 1294, or 1378—1494), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.

9. Hiftoria Arcana Alexandri VI. five Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi (A.D. 1492—1503) edita a Godefr. Gulielm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable Journal of Bufcard might be completed from the MSS. in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foncemagne, in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Infcrip. tom. xvii. p. 597—606.).

Except the last, all these fragments and diaries are inserted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and mafter in the history of Italy. His country, and the public, are indebted to him for the following works on that subject: 1. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (A. D. 500-1500). quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit, &c. xxviii vols. in folio, Milan, 1723-1738. 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is still wanting as a key to this great work, which is yet in a disorderly and defective state. 2. Antiquitates Italian medii Ævi, yi vols. in foliq, Milan, 1738—1743, in lxxv. curious differtations, on the manners, government, religion, &c. of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large supplement of charters, chronicles, &c. 3. Differtioni sopra le Antiquita Italiane, iii vols. in 4to, Milano, 1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the same considence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. Annali d'. Italia, xviii vols. in octavo, Milan 1753-1756, a dry, though accurate and useful abridgment of the history of Italy from the birth of Christ to the middle of the xviiith century. 5. Dell Antichita Estensee et Italiane, ii vols. in folio, Modena, 1717. 1740. In the history of this illustrious race, the parent of our Brunswick kings, the critic is not feduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the fubject. In all his works, Muratori approves himfelf a diligent and laborious writer, who afpires above the prejudices of a Catholic prieft. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after passing near fixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (Vita del Proposto Ludovico Antonio Muratori, by his nephew and fuccessor Gian. Francesco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756, in 4to).

CHAP. LXXI.

Profpect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century.-Four Causes of Decay and Destruction.—Example of the Colifeum.—Renovation of the City.-Conclusion of the whole Work.

IN the last days of Pope Eugenius the Fourth, CHAP. two of his fervants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill; reposed view and themselves among the ruins of columns and tem- discourse of ples; and viewed from that commanding fpot from the the wide and various prospect of desolation2. Capitoline The place and the object gave ample scope for A.D. 1430. moralifing on the viciflitudes of fortune, which fpares neither man nor the proudeft of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatness, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primæval " ftate, fuch as fhe might appear in a remote age, " when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy3,

Poggius

I have already (not. 50, 51 on chap. 65.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

² Confedimus in ipsis Tarpeiæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas, unde magna ex parte prospectus urbis patet (p. 5.).

3 Eneid viii. 97-369. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced, and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathife in the feelings of a Roman.

CHAP. " has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. "This Tarpeian rock was then a favage and " folitary thicket: in the time of the poet. " it was crowned with the golden roofs of a " temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold " has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has " accomplished her revolution, and the facred " ground is again disfigured with thorns and " brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we fit, was formerly the head of the Roman " empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many " triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes " of fo many nations. This spectacle of the " world, how is it fallen! how changed! how " defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by " vines, and the benches of the fenators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the " Palatine hill, and feek among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, "the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porti-" coes of Nero's palace: furvey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted conly by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they affembled to " enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of potherbs, or thrown open for the reception of fwine and buffaloes. The public and private "edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie " proftrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs " of a mighty giant; and the ruin is more " visible, from the stupendous relics that " have 13

* have furvived the injuries of time and CHAP. LXXI. " fortune 4."

These relics are minutely described by Pog- His degius, one of the first who raised his eyes from scription of the monuments of legendary, to those of classic, superstition. 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could difcern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults, in the falt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven thermæ, or public baths, none were fufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the feveral parts: but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla ftill retained the titles of the founders, and aftonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their folidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the fize and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expence with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine, were entire, both the structure and the

⁴ Capitolium adeo . . . immutatum ut vineæ in fenatorum fubfellia fuccesserint, stercorum ac pergamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatinum montem . . . vasta rudera cæteros colles perluftra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineifque oppleta conspicies (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21.).

See Poggius, p. 8-22.

CHAP. inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Colifeum, Poggius might have overlooked a fmall amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great measure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus. Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the fituation and the form could be inveftigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were ftill erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two maufoleums or fepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be loft: but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the caftle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles. included three hundred and feventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

Gradual decay of Rome.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A

long period of diffress and anarchy, in which em- C HAP. pire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the LXXI. banks of the Tyber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain, at each æra, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and useless labour. And I shall content myself with two observations, which will introduce a fhort enquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome. His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could observe the visible remains, he could listen to the tradition of the people, and he distinctly enumerates feven theatres, eleven baths. twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many stately monuments of antiquity furvived till a late period, and that the principles

⁷ The Pere Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502.), has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his visit round the churches

⁶ Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ in Bibliothecâ St. Isidori Armario IV. N³ 69. This treatife, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283—301.), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xiiimi circiter sæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus et, ut ab illo ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus, sed, quia monumenta, quæ iis temporibus Romæ supererant pro modulo recenset, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283-).

C HAP. principles of destruction acted with vigorous and encreafing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The fame reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly feek the Septizonium of Severus'; which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the fixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were refifted by the folidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the flightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

Fourcaufes ' of deftruction.

After a diligent enquiry, I can difcern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hoftile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The injuries of nature.

I. The art of man is able to conftruct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence: yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a fimple and folid edifice, it is not eafy however to circumfcribe the duration. As the won-

churches and holy places of Rome, touches on feveral buildings, especially porticoes, which had difappeared before the xiiith century.

8 On the Septizonium, see the Memoires sur Petrarque (tom. i. p. 325.), Donatus (p. 338.), and Nardini (p. 117. 414.).

ders

ders of ancient days, the pyramids attracted the CHAP. curiofity of the ancients: an hundred genera- LXXI. tions, the leaves of autumn 13, have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cafars and Caliphs, the fame pyramids fland erect and unfhaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the filent lapse of time is often acce-hurricanes lerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and earth quakes; and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the losty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the feven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Lifbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into duft. Fire is the most power- fires: ful agent of life and death; the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of fimilar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either fix, or

9 The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, fince Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000, or 3,400, years before the clxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marsham's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynafties would fix them above 2000 years before Christ (Canon.

VOL. XII.

Chronicus, p. 47.).

DD

nine,

¹⁰ See the speech of Glaucus in the Iliad (z. 146.). This natural but melancholy picture is familiar to Homer.

CHAP. nine, days". Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally deftroyed, and feven were deformed by the relics of fmoking and lacerated edifices 12. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of diffress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government, or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the

, naked

[&]quot; The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (Histoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74-118. ix. p. 172-187.) dates the fire of Rome from A.D. 64, July 19, and the subsequent perfecution of the Christians from November 15, of the same year.

¹² Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres folo tenus dejectæ: feptem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta. Among the old relics that were irreparably loft, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar confecrated by Evander præsenti Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsitæ et Græcarum artium decora . . . multa quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. xv. 40, 41.).

naked walls, and maffy arches, that have been CHAP. despoiled of their ornaments. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a mifchievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but as foon as they are devoured the greater edifices which have refifted or escaped, are left as fo many iflands in a flate of folitude and fafety. From her fituation, Rome is ex-inundaposed to the danger of frequent inundations. tions. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that descend from either fide of the Apennine have a fhort and irregular course: a shallow stream in the fummer heats: an impetuous torrent, when it is fwelled in the fpring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the fnows. When the current is repelled from the fea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rife above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tyber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation furpassing all former measure of time and place, deftroyed all the buildings that were fituate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either fwept away by the fudden impulse, or diffolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood 13. Under the reign of Augustus,

13 A. U. C. 507, repentina subversio ipsius Romæ prevenit triimphum Romanorum . . . diverfæ ignium aquarumque clades DD 2

CHAP. gustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks 14; and, after the labours of the Emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins 15, the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests 16; nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and impersect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of

pene absumere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædisicia in plano posita delevit. Diversæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere pernicem: quoniam et quæ segnior inundatio tenuit madefacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit impulsa dejecit (Orosius, Hist. 1. iv. c. 11. p. 244. edit. Havercamp). Yet we may observe, that it is the plan and study of the Christian apologist, to magnify the calamities of the Pagan world.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis Littore Etrufco violenter undis Ire dejectum monumenta Regis Templaque Veftæ. (Horat. Carm. I. 2.).

If the palace of Numa, and temple of Vesta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was consumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of vetustissima or incorrupta.

15 Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapfionibus coarctatum (Suetonius in Augusto, c. 30.).

Tacitus (Annal. i. 79.) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the fenate against the measure: and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion, local interests would undoubtedly be consulted: but an English House of Commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, "that nature had assigned to the rivers their proper course," &c.

nature;

nature 17; and if fuch were the ravages of the CHAP. Tyber under a firm and active government, what LXXI. could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city, after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth. that has been washed down from the hills, is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level 18; and the modern city is less accesfible to the attacks of the river 19.

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who II. The impute the destruction of the Roman monu- hostile attacks of the ments to the Goths and the Christians, have Barbarians neglected to enquire how far they were animated and Chrifby an hostile principle, and how far they posfeffed the means and the leifure to fatiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History, I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleafing romance, that the Goths and Vandals fallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of

17 See the Epoques de la Nature of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana, in South America, is that of a new and favage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition).

18 In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98. Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

¹⁹ Yet in modern times, the Tyber has fometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 268. 429. tom. xv. p.99, &c.).

CHAP. Odin 20, to break the chains, and to chaftife the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of claffic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tufcan and Corinthian orders. But in fimple truth, the northern conquerors were neither fufficiently favage, nor fufficiently refined, to entertain fuch aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded; with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unrefifting capital, the foldiers of Alaric and Genferic were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their fearch; nor could they derive either pride or pleafure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the confuls and Cæfars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the fixth 2t, the Vandals on the fifteenth, day 22;

- vol. vi. p. 151.

²⁰ I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the course of twelve years, I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very feriously believed (vol. i. p. 390.). The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus, is darkness or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

²¹ History of the Decline, &c. vol. v. p. 325.

and, though it be far more difficult to build than CHAP. to destroy, their hasty affault would have made a flight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genferic affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric 23; and that the momentary resentment of Totila 24 was difarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The ftatues, altars, and houses of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perfeverance to eraze the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East 25 affords to them an example of conduct, and to us an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman profelytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen fuperstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the fenate, and of time. Of the Chriftian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic: nor

²³ History of the Decline, &c. vol. vii. p. 29-33. - vol. vii. p. 368. 374. - vol. v. c. xxviii. p. 105-108. DD 4 can

C HAP. can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of faving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.

III. The use and abuse of the materials.

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleafures of mankind, is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of perfons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and confequently on the eafe or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local fituation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate confumption, they must view without defire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals 27. Gold and filver were the first objects of their avarice; as in every country, and

²⁶ Eodem tempore petiit a Phocate principe templum, quod appellatur *Pantheon*, in quo fecir ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiæ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 135.). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the calends of November, to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (p. 297, 298.).

²⁷ Flaminius Vacca (apud Montfaucon, p. 155, 156.). His Memoir is likewise printed, pp. 21. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini, and several Romans, doctrina graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks fillis nepotibusque. He relates some anecdotes to prove, that, in his own time, these places were visited and risled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

in the smallest compass, they represent the most CHAP. ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vafe or a statute of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some Barbarian chief; but the groffer multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the Emperor Conftans, in his rapacious vifit, ftripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon²⁸. The edifices of Rome might be confidered as a vaft and various mine; the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polifhed; and after foreign and domeftic rapine had been fatiated, theremains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolifh with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could furpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the feat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the

²⁸ Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatura civitatis deposiit: fed et ecclesiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta discooperuit (Anast. in Vitalian, p. 141.). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temples the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

CHAP. works of the Cæsars: but policy confined the LXXI. French monarch to the forests of Germany; his tafte could be gratified only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Rayenna²⁹ and Rome³⁰. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wifeft and most liberal fovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tyber and the sea; and Petrarch fighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world should adorn from her own bowels the flothful luxury of Naples31. But these examples of plunder or purchase

> 29 For the spoils of Ravenna (musiva atque marmora) see the original grant of Pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epift. Ixvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223.).

> 30 I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A.D. 887 -899.), de Rebus gestis Caroli magni, l. v. 437-440. in the Historians of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quæ marmoreas præftabat ROMA columnas, Quasdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetuftas. Illius ornatum Francia ferre tibi.

And I shall add, from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Historians of France, tom. v. p. 378.) extruxit etiam Aquifgrani bafilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus structuram a ROMA et Ravenna columnas et marmora devehi fecit.

31 I cannot refuse to transcribe a long passage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 536, 537.) in Epistola hortatoria ad Nicolaum Laurentium; it is so strong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii spoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas regiones urbis, atque honores magistratium inter se divisos; (babeant?) quam una in re, turbulenti ac feditiofi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ confiliis et rationibus discordes, inhumani fæderis stupendå societate convenerant, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides desæeirent. Denique post vi vel senio collapsa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan cor-

purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the CHAP. Romans, alone and unenvied, might have ap- LXXI. plied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and fituation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the campus Martius; and fome of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a defert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the fenators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent fuccessors; the use of baths32 and porticoes was forgotten; in the fixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion, or reason, had distributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyfter. Under the ecclefiaftical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries

ruorunt), de ipfius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem questûm turpi mercimonio captare non puduit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus fiebat), de imaginibus fepulchrorum fub quibus patrum vestrorum venerabilis civis (cinis?) erat, ut reliquas fileam, defidiofa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipfæ deficiunt. Yet King Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

32 Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22. p. 108, 109.), and Muratori describes, as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416.).

CHAP. of men, twenty of women, and fixty chapters and colleges of canons and priefts33, who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were difregarded by a people infenfible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition; till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps, to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havock which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Afia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's 34. A fragment, a ruin, howfoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord 35, and many

³³ See the Annals of Italy, A. D. 988. For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himself is indebted to the Benedictine history of Pêre Mabillon,

³⁴ Vita di Sisto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

³⁵ Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum fpecioso: Romani postmodum ad calcem ædem totam et porticûs partem disjectis columnis funt demoliti (p. 12.). The temple of Concord was therefore not destroyed by a sedition in the xiiith century, as I have read in a MS. treatife del' Governo civile di Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise affirms, that the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella was burnt for lime (p.19,

capital ftructures, had vanished from his eyes; CHAP. and an epigram of the same age expresses a just LXXI. and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity 30. The fmallness of their numbers was the fole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people 37; and I hefitate to believe, that even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible lift of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the Tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousands, the encrease of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have referved for the last, the most po- IV. The tent and forcible cause of destruction, the domes-domessic tic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the Rothe dominion of the Greek and French emperors, mans. the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental, though frequent, feditions; it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth

36 Composed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., and published by Mabillon, from a MS. of the Queen of Sweden (Musæum Italicum, tom.i. p. 97.).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas: Ex cujus lapfû gloria prisca patet. Sed tuus his populus muris defossa vetustis Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit Impia tercentum fi fic gens egerit annos Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

37 Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magna; quæ, cum propter. spatium vacua videretur, populum habet immensum (Opp. p. 605. Epist. Familiares, ii. 14.).

38 These states of the population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatife of the physician Lancisi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122.).

century,

CHAP. century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel, without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign, or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the fanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Urfini; and if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters, the causes and effects of the public diforders. At fuch a time, when every quarrel was decided by the fword, and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for fafety, or offence, against the domestic enemies, whom they feared or Except Venice alone, the fame dangers hated. and defigns were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting ftrong towers 39 that were capable of refifting a fudden attack. The cities were filled with thefe hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law which confined their height to the measure of fourscore feet, may be extended with fuitable latitude to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancaleone in the establish-

³⁹ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ medii Ævi, dissertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493-496. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work). ment

ment of peace and justice, was to demolish (as CHAP. we have already feen) one hundred and forty of LXXI. the towers of Rome; and, in the last days of anarchy and difcord, as late as the reign of Martin the Fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and folid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raifed on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæfar, Titus, and the Antonines 40. With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a maufoleum, was transformed into a ftrong and spacious I need not repeat, that the mole of citadel. Adrian has affumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo41; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army 42; the fepulchre of Metella has funk under its outworks43; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus

were

⁴⁰ As for instance, Templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangapanis; et sane Jano impositæ turris lateritiæ conspicua hodieque vestigia supersunt (Montsaucon Diarium Italicum, p. 186.). The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titi, turrus Cartularia; arcus Julii Cæsaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Cosectis, &c.

[&]quot;Hadriani molem magna ex parte Romanorum injuria difturbavit; quod certe funditus evertiffent, fi eorum manibus pervia, abfumptis grandibus faxis, reliqua moles exfitiffet (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

⁴² Against the Emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom.ix.

⁴³ I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda Cæciliæ Metellæ fepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam solidi, ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum supersit; et Torre di Bove dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic sequiori

CHAP. were occupied by the Savelli and Urfini families44; and the rough fortress had been gradually foftened to the fplendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the caftle of St. Angelo, they had refolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a fiege; and in every fiege the arts and engines of destruction were laborioufly employed. After the death of Nicholas the Fourth, Rome, without a fovereign or a fenate. was abandoned fix months to the fury of civil "The houses," fays a cardinal and poet of the times 45, " were crushed by the weight and

> ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cuius mœnia et turres etiamnum vifuntur; ita ut fepulchrum Metellæ quafi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Urfini atque Columnenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142.).

> 44 See the testimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are fill great

and conspicuous.

45 James, Cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical Life of Pope Celestin V. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. P. iii. p. 621. l. i. c. I. ver. 132, &c.).

Hoc dixisse sat est, Romam caruisse Senatû Mensibus exactis heu sex; belloque vocatum (vocatos) In scelus, in socios fraternaque vulnera patres; Tormentis jecisse viros immania faxa; Perfodisse domus trabibus, fecisse ruinas Ignibus, incensas turres, obscurataque fumo Lumina vicino, quo fit spoliata supellex.

" velocity

velocity of enormous stones 45; the walls were CHAP. " perforated by the strokes of the battering ram; 1 "the towers were involved in fire and fmoke; " and the affailants were ftimulated by rapine "and revenge." The work was confummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercifed ablind and thoughtless vengeance on their adverfaries, whose houses and caftles they razed to the ground 47. In comparing the days of foreign, with the ages of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," fays the laureat, "the relics of Rome, "the image of her priftine greatness! neither " time, nor the Barbarian, can boast the merit of "this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated " by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of "her fons, and your ancestors (he writes to a " noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-" ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish " with the fword 48." The influence of the two last principles of decay must in some degree be multiplied

⁴⁶ Muratori (Differtatione sopra le Antiquitá Italiane, tom. i. p. 427—431.) finds, that stone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are sometimes computed at xii or xviii cantari of Genoa, each cantaro weighing 150 pounds.

⁴⁷ The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice; and strictly enjoins, that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gualvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041.).

⁴⁸ Petrarch thus addresses his friend, who, with shame and tears, had shewn him the meenia, laceræ specimen miserabile Romæ, and de-VOL. XII. E E

CHAP. tiplied by each other; fince the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual fupply from the monuments of antiquity.

The Colifeum or amphitheatre of Titus.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the Coliseum 49, either from its magnitude, or from Nero's coloffal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and feats, are disposed to believe, that above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with feveral ftages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly confumed by fire, and reftored by the Emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brafs, or overfpread with leaves of filver and

clared his own intention of restoring them (Carmina Latina, I. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalenti, xii. p. 97, 98.).

> Nec te parva manet fervatis fama ruinis Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti Hoftis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu! - Quod ille nequivit (Hannibal) Perficit hic aries.

49 The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei, professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of Coloffeum or Colifeum: fince the Same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a coloffal statue; since that of Nero was erected in the court (in atrio) of his palace, and not in the Colifeum (P. iv. p. 15-19. l. i. c. 4.).

gold,

gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanati- C HAP. cism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the LXXI. Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum. many holes are discerned: and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals 50: the vacant space was converted into a fair or market: the artifans of the Colifeum are mentioned in an ancient furvey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged to receive the polesthat supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades 51. Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthufiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expresfion which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long " as the Colifeum stands, Rome shall stand; when " the Colifeum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome " falls, the world will fall 52." In the modern fystem of war, a situation commanded by three

⁵⁰ Joseph Maria Suarés, a learned bishop, and the author of an hiftory of Præneste, has composed a separate differtation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the Roman Thefaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (Diarium, p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unam germanamque causam foraminum.

Donatus, Roma Vetus et Nova, p. 285.

⁵² Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma; quanto cadet Colyseus. cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Ducange Glossar. med. et insimæ Latinitatis. tom. ii. p. 407. edit. Basil.). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

LXXI.

CHAP. hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the ftrength of the walls and arches could refift the engines of affault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the inclosure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and the Colifeum 53.

> The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival fports of the Testacean mount and the Circus Agonalis54, were regulated by the law 55 or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the pallium 56, as it was ftyled, of cloth or filk. A tribute on the Jews fupplied the annual expence 57; and the races, on foot.

53 I cannot recover, in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i.), the passage that attests this hoftile partition, which must be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

54 Although the structure of the Circus Agonalis he destroyed, it still retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona): and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the Monte Testaceo, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggon loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186.).

55 See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaceo are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius, from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.).

56 The Pallium, which Menage fo foolifhly derives from Palmarium, is an eafy extension of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak, to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, differt. xxxiii.).

57 For these expences, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of filver for foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled CHAP. by a tilt and tournament of feventy-two of the LXXI. Roman youth. In the year one thousand three Abull-feast hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feaft, after the in the Colifeum, fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was cele- A.D.1332, brated in the Colifeum itself; and the living Sept. 3. manners are painted in a diary of the times 58. A convenient order of benches was reftored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Rayenna, and invited the nobles to exercife their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three fquadrons, and feated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as usual between the Colonna and Urfini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Urfini are mentioned with praife; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ancle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and

which Judas had betrayed his Master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish as well as of Christian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem).

⁵⁸ This extraordinary bull-feaft in the Colifeum is described, from tradition rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536.): and however fanciful they may feem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

CHAP. respectable citizen; and they descended into the arena or pit, to encounter the wild bulls, on foot, as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome, and the ecclefiaftical state; Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annabaldi, Altieri, Corfi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. " I am alone like the 45 youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger: " I live disconsolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover: "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion. " My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide: " If I am drowned in blood, what a " pleafant death," the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Urfini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though fad, I am ftrong:" "Strong as I am " great :" " If I fall," addressing himself to the fpectators, " you fall with me:" - intimating (fays the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol, The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and

and bloody. Every champion successively en- CHAP. countered a wild bull; and the victory may be . ascribed to the quadrupeds, fince no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the fide of their adverfaries, fome of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a fecond holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence, and risk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous fympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter 50.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, per- Injuries, haps a fingular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorfe. In the fourteenth century, a fcandalous act of concord fecured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Colifeum 60; and Poggius laments, that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the

59 Muratori has given a separate differtation (the xxixth)to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

⁶⁰ In a concile but inftructive memoir, the Abbé Barthelemy (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century, de Tiburtino faciendo in the Colifeum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

CHAP. Romans 61. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth furrounded it with a wall; and by a charter long extant granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent 62. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The infide was damaged; but in the middle of the fixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand fix hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of four-score arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace, may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes 63. A similar re-

62 Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (No 72.). They still hoped, on some future eccasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

proach

⁶¹ Colifeum oh stultitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad calcem deletum, fays the indignant Poggius (p. 17.): but his expreffion, too firong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xyth century.

⁶³ After measuring the priscus amphitheatri gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiv. p. 371.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar laying, " Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barberini," which was perhaps fuggefted by the refemblance of the words.

proach is applied to the Barberini; and the repe- C H A P. tition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Colifeum was placed under the fafeguard and confeof religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, cration of the Colife-Benedict the Fourteenth, who confecrated a fpot um. which perfecution and fable had ftained with the blood of fo many Christian martyrs 64.

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a Ignorance view of those monuments, whose scattered frag- and barba-rism of the ments fo far furpass the most eloquent descrip- Romans. tions, he was aftonished at the supine indifference 65 of the Romans themselves 66: he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis 67. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old furvey of the city which was composed

about

⁶⁴ As an antiquarian and a prieft, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Colifeum; Quôd fi non fuopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuiffet quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore facrum tantopere fævitum esse.

⁶⁵ Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impose a fine of 500 aurei on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo representent.

⁶⁶ In his first visit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See Memoires sur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 322, &c.) Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stuporis mole obrutus . . . Presentia vero, mirum dicra, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoresque sunt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hâc urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605. Familiares, ii. 14. Joanni Columnæ).

⁶⁷ He excepts and praises the rare knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ.

C H A P. about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol 68 may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," fays the anonymous writer, "is " fo named as being the head of the world; where "the confuls and fenators formerly refided for " the government of the city and the globe. The " ftrong and lofty walls were covered with glass "and gold, and crowned with a roof of the " richeft and most curious carving. Below the " citadel ftood a palace, of gold for the greatest " part, decorated with precious ftones, and whose " value might be esteemed at one-third of the " world itself. The statues of all the provinces " were arranged in order, each with a fmall bell " fuspended from its neck; and such was the " contrivance of art magic 69, that if the province " rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round " to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang,

⁶⁸ After the description of the Capitol, he adds, statuæ erant quot funt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem dispositæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, statim imago illius provinciæ vertebat se contra illam; unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant custodes senatui, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled: tintinnabulum fonuit; facerdos qui erat in fpeculo in hebdomadâ fenatoribus nuntiavit; Agrippa marched back and reduced the --- Perfians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, p. 297, 298.).

⁵⁹ The same writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis invisibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmsbury (de Gestis Regum Anglorum, 1. ii. p. 86.); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (N° 81. 103.) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the Goths) invoked the dæmons for the discovery of hidden treasures.

"the prophet of the Capitol reported the pro- CHAP. "digy, and the fenate was admonished of the im- LXXI. " pending danger." A fecond example of less importance, though of equal abfurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have fince been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundless application of the name of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excufed; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they fhould not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the fymbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the Emperor his most secret actions; and after refusing all pecuniary recompence, folicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves 72. Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were infensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or defign had buried under the ruins, the refurrection was fortunately delayed till a fafer and more enlightened age 71. The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored

Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191.) juftly observes, that if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.) who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 19.).

William of Malmfbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87.) relates a marvellous discovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus: the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the cospse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (pectus

C H AP. explored by fome labourers, in digging a vine-LXXI. yard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by fome vifits of curiofity, reftored the unprofitable marble to its former grave 72. The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-fuit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head should be feparated from the body to fatisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the fentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not refcued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen 73.

Restoration and ornaments of the city, A.D.1420,

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually difpelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the Fifth and his fucceffors, reftored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclefiaftical state. The improvements of Rome, fince the fifteenth century, have not been the fpontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city, is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which

(pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable refts on the flightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

72 Prope porticum Mineryæ, statua est recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie tantæ magnitudinis, ut figna omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandos arbores ferobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum adeuntium fastidiumque pertæsus, horti patronus congestà humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

73 See the Memorials of Flaminia Vacca No 57. p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4to.).

fupplies

supplies the materials of subfiftence, of manufac- CHAP. tures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part , of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness: the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the fcanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A fecond and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis, is the refidence of a monarch, the expence of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been loft in the fall of the empire: and if some streams of the filver of Peru and the gold of Brafil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclefiaftical taxes, afford a poor and precarious fupply, which maintains however the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and feventy thousand inhabitants 74; and within the spacious inclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the feven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and fplendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of supersti-

⁷⁴ In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thouland Jews) amounted to 138,568 fouls (Labat, Voyages en Espagne et in Italie, tom. iii. p. 217, 218.). In 1740, they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 164, 899. I am ignorant whether they have fince continued in a progressive state.

CHAP. tion. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expence of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and fervitude; the perfeet arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture, have been profittuted in their fervice, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which tafte or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclefiaftical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, fince these leffer stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth, is accompanied by the fuperior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo: and the same munificence which had been difplayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Proftrate obelifks were raifed from the ground, and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæfars and confuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long feries of old, or of new arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of falubrious and refreshing waters: and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's.

Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian C HAP. granite, which rifes between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the fludent 75: and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once favage, countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the at- Final contention will be excited by an history of the de-clusion. cline and fall of the Roman empire; the greatest perhaps, and most awful scene, in the history of The various causes and progressive

75 The Pere Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8-20. p. 104-301). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of Ancient Rome; the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the funerior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes obscuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still fighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any fpot or building of Rome. The laborious work, fuch as Montfaucon defired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence; but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furnish a folid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

effects

CHAP. effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæfars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the diforder of military despotism; the rife, establishment, and fects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy: the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia: the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal fovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his fubject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to myown wishes, I finally deliver to the curiofity and candour of the public.

> LAUSANNE. June 27, 1787.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A

ABAN, the Saracen, heroifm of his widow, ix. 393.

Abbaffides, elevation of the house of, to the office of caliph of the Saracens, x. 28.

Abdallah, the Saracen, his excursion to plunder the fair of Abyla,

ix. 400. His African expedition, 401.

Abdalmalek, caliph of the Saracens, refuses tribute to the Emperor of Constantinople, and establishes a national mint, x. 7.

Abdalrahman, the Saracen, establishes his throne at Cordova in Spain, x. 34. Splendour of his court, 37. His estimate of his happiness, 39.

Abdelazia, the Saracen, his treaty with Theodemir the Gothic prince of Spain, ix. 481, 482. His death, 485.

Abderame, his expedition to France, and victories there, x. 21. His death, 26.

Abdol Motalleb, the grandfather of the prophet Mahomet, his history, ix. 253.

Abgarus, inquiry into the authenticity of his correspondence with Jesus Christ, ix. 117.

Abgarus, the last King of Edessa, sent in chains to Rome, i. 335.

Ablavius, the confidential præsect under Constantine the Great.

Ablavius, the confidential præfect under Conftantine the Great, a confpiracy formed against him on that Emperor's death, iii. 130. Is put to death, 132.

Abu Ayub, his history, and the veneration paid to his memory by the

Mahometans, x. 5. xii. 244.

Abubeker, the friend of Mahomet, is one of his first converts, ix. 283. Flies from Mecca with him, 288. Succeeds Mahomet as caliph of the Saracens, 332. His character, 358.

Abu Caab commands the Andalusian Moors who subdued the island of Crete, x. 58.

VOL. XII.

FF

Abu

Abu Sophian, Prince of Mecca, conspires the death of Mahomet, ix. 288. Battles of Beder and Ohud, 298-301. Befieges Medina without fuccefs, 301. Surrenders Mecca to Mahomet, and receives him as a prophet, 307.

Abu Taher, the Carmathian, pillages Mecca, x. 77.

Abulfeda, his account of the splendour of the caliph Moctader, x. 37. Abulpharagius, primate of the Eastern Jacobites, some account of, viii. 353. His encomium on wisdom and learning, x. 42. Abundantius, general of the East, and patron of the eunuch Eutro-

pius, is difgraced and exiled by him, v. 381.

Abyla, the fair of, plundered by the Saracens, ix. 402.

Abyssinia, the inhabitants of, described, vii. 340. Their alliance with the Emperor Justinian, 343. Ecclesiastical history of, viii. 367. Acacius, Bishop of Amida, an uncommon instance of episcopal bene-

volence, v. 427.

Achaia, its extent, i. 38.

Acre, the memorable fiege of, by the crusaders, xi. 142. Final loss of, 166.

Actions, institutes of Justinian respecting, viii. 82.

Attium, a review of Roman affairs after the battle of, i. 95.

Adautus, the only martyr of distinction during the persecution under

Diocletian, ii. 480.

Adolphus, the brother of Alaric, brings him a reinforcement of troops, v. 296. Is made count of the domestics to the new Emperor Attalus, 305. Succeeds his brother as King of the Goths, and concludes a peace with Honorius, 330.

Adoption, the two kinds of, under the Greek empire, xi. 49. note. Adoration of the Roman Emperor, custom of, and derivation of the

term, x. 124.

Adorno, the Genoese governor of Phocæa, conveys Amurath II. from

Afia to Europe, xii. 52.

Adrian I., Pope, his alliance with Charlemagne against the Lombards, ix. 150. His reception of Charlemagne at Rome, 154, 155. Afferts the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, 159.

Adultery, distinctions of, and how punished by Augustus, viii. 99. By

the Christian emperors, 102.

Ælia Capitolina founded on Mount Sion, by Hadrian, ii. 279.

Ælius Pætus, his Tripartite, the oldest work of Roman jurisprudence, viii. 25.

Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia and Mæsia, routs the barbarous invaders of the empire, and is declared Emperor by his troops, i. 408.

Eneas of Gaza, his attestation of the miraculous gift of speech to the Catholic confessors of Tipasa, whose tongues had been cut out, VI. 294.

Eneas Sylvius, his account of the impracticability of an European crufade against the Turks, xii. 253. His epigram on the destruction of ancient buildings in Rome, 413. note.

Era of the world, remarkable epochas in, pointed out, vii. 154. note.

- Gelalwan, of the Turks, when fettled, x. 367. Aerial tribute, in the Eastern empire, what, vii. 106.

Atius,

Ætius, surnamed the Atheist, his character and adventures, iii. 339.

354. 376. note.

, the Roman general under Valentinian III. his character, vi. 9. His treacherous scheme to ruin Count Bonisace, 11. Is forced to retire into Pannonia, 26. His invitation of the Huns into the empire, 39. Seizes the administration of the Western empire, 89. His character, as given by Renatus, a cotemporary historian, 90. Employs the Huns and Alani in the defence of Gaul, 92. Concludes a peace with Theodoric, 97. Raises the siege of Orleans, 110. Battle of Chalons, 112. His prudence on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 129. Is murdered by Valentinian, 139.

Africa, its fituation and revolutions, i. 41. Great revenue raifed from, by the Romans, 258. Progress of Christianity there, ii. 366.

is distracted with religious discord in the time of Constantine the Great, iii. 309. Character and revolt of the Circumcellions, 398. Oppressions of, under the government of Count Romanus,

iv. 301. General state of Africa, 308.

, revolt of Count Boniface there, vi. 11. Arrival of Genferic King of the Vandals, 14. Perfecution of the Donatifts, 16. Devastations of, by the Vandals, 20. Carthage furprifed by Genferic, 28. Perfecution of the Catholics, 280.

Romans, 186. The government of, fettled by Justinian, 187. Revolt of the troops there, under Stoza, 349. Devastation of the

war, 353.

bah, 455. Decline and extinction of Christianity there, 495. Revolt and independence of the Saracens there, x. 79.

Aglabites, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 79.

Aglae, a Roman lady, patronifes St. Boniface, ii. 482.

Agricola, review of his conduct in Britain, i. 7.

Agriculture, great improvement of, in the western countries of the Roman empire, i. 84. State of, in the Eastern empire, under Justinian, iv. 70.

Ajan, the sepulchre of, how distinguished, iii. 11.

Aiznadin, battle of, between the Saracens and the Greeks, ix. 388.

Akbab, the Saracen, his exploits in Africa, ix. 455.

Alani, occasion of these people invading Asia, ii. 68. Conquest of, by the Huns, iv. 371. Join the Goths who had emigrated into

Thrace, 400. See Goths, and Vandals.

Alaric, the Goth, learns the art of war under Theodosius the Great, v. 80. Becomes the leader of the Gothic revolt, and ravages Greece, 178. Escapes from Stilicho, 186. Is appointed matter general of the Eastern Illyricum, 188. His invasion of Italy, 190. Is defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 199. Is driven out of Italy, 203. Is, by treaty with Honorius, declared master general of the Roman armies throughout the præsecture of Illyricum, 234. His pleas and motives for marching to Rome, 252. Encamps under the walls of that city, 255. Accepts a ransom, and raises the siege, 295. His negociation with the Emperor Honorius,

20

297. His fecond fiege of Rome, 303. Places Attalus on the Imperial throne, 305. Degrades him, 309. Seizes the city of Rome, 311. His fack of Rome compared with that by the Em-Retires from Rome, and ravages Italy, peror Charles V., 323. 325. His death and burial, 329.

Alaric II. King of the Goths, his overthrow by Clovis King of the

Franks, vi. 330.

Alberic, the fon of Marozia, his revolt, and government of Rome, ix. 201.

Albigeois of France, profecution of, x 187.

Alboin, King of the Lombards, his history, viii. 117. His alliance with the Avars against the Gepidæ, 119, 120. Reduces the Gepidæ, 121. He undertakes the conquest of Italy, 122. Overruns what is now called Lombardy, 126. Affumes the regal title there, 127, 128. Takes Pavia, and makes it his capital city, 128, 129. Is murdered at the infligation of his Queen Rofamond, 129.

Alchemy, the books of, in Egypt, destroyed by Diocletian, ii. 137 Aleppo, fiege and capture of, by the Saracens, ix. 415. Is recovered by the Greeks, x. 90. Is taken and facked by Tamerlane,

xii. 21.

Alexander III.; Pope, establishes the papal election in the college of cardinals, xii. 300.

Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria, excommunicates Arius for his herefy, iii. 328.

Alexander Severus, is declared Cæfar by the Emperor Elagabalus, i. 238. Is raised to the throne, 240. Examination into his pretended victory over Artaxerxes, 337. Shewed a regard for the

Christian religion, ii. 450.

Alexandria, a general maffacre there, by order of the Emperor Caracalla, i. 219. The city described, 452. Is ruined by ridiculous intestine commotions, 453. By famine and pestilence, 456. Is befreged and taken by Diocletian, ii. 134. The Christian theology reduced to a systematical form in the school of, 363. Number of martyrs who fuffered there in the perfecution by Decius,

428. Alexandria, the theological fystem of Plato taught in the school of, and received by the Jews there, iii. 316. Questions concerning the nature of the Trinity, agitated in the philosophical and Christian schools of, 321, 327. History of the Archbishop St. Athanasius, 356. Ontrages attending his expulsion and the establishment of his fucceffor, George of Cappadocia, 380. The city distracted by pious factions, 389. Difgraceful life and tragical death of George of Cappadocia, iv. 125. Restoration of Athanasius, 131. Athanasius banished by Julian, 132. Suffers greatly by an earth-

quake, 339. History of the temple of Serapis there, v. 180. This temple, and the famous library, destroyed by Bishop Theophilus, 111. , is taken by Amrou the Saracen, ix. 435. The famous li-

brary destroyed, 439.

Alexius

Alexius Angelus, his usurpation of the Greek empire, and character, xi. 185. Flies before the crufaders, 212.

Alexius I. Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 83. New titles of dignity invented by him, 121. Battle of Durazzo, 294. So-

licits the aid of the Emperor Henry III. 300.

folicits the aid of the Christian princes against the Turks, xi. 6. His suspicious policy on the arrival of the crusaders, 45, 46. Exacts homage from them, 48. Profits by the success of the crufaders, 101, 102.

Alexius II. Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 92.

Alexius Strategopulus, the Greek general, retakes Constantinople from

the Latins, xi. 284.

Alexius, the fon of Isaac Angelus, his escape from his uncle, who had deposed his father, xi. 186. His treaty with the crusaders for his restoration, 202. Restoration of his father, 217. His death,

Alfred fends an embaffy to the shrine of St. Thomas in India,

viii. 345.

Algebra, by whom invented, x. 47.

Ali, joins Mahomet in his prophetical mission, ix. 284. His heroism, 304. His character, 329. Is chosen caliph of the Saracens, 333. Devotion paid at his tomb, 341. His posterity, 342.

Aligern, defends Cumz, for his brother Teis, King of the Goths,

vii. 390. Is reduced, 392.

Alledus murders Caraufius, and usurps his station, ii. 127.

Allemanni, the origin and warlike spirit of, i. 417. Are driven out of Italy by the fenate and people, 418. Invade the empire under Aurelian, ii. 21. Are totally routed, 24. Gaul delivered from

their depredations by Constantius Chlorus, 131.

- invade and establish themselves in Gaul, iii. 214. Are defeated at Strasburgh by Julian, 223. Are reduced by Julian in his expedition beyond the Rhine, 229. Invade Gaul under the Emperor Valentinian, iv. 277. Are reduced by Jovinus, 279. And chastised by Valentinian, 282.

Allemanni, are subdued by Clovis King of the Franks, vi. 316.

Alp Arslan, Sultan of the Turks, his reign, x. 352.

Alypius, governor of Britain, is commissioned by the Emperor Julian-

to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, iv. 105.

Amala, King of the Goths, his high credit among them, i. 394. Amalafontha, Queen of Italy, her history and character, vii. 206. Her death, 210.

Amalphi, description of the city and its commerce, x. 279. Amazons, improbability of any fociety of, ii. 46. note.

Ambition, reflections on the violence, and various operations of that

paffion, ix. 109.

Ambrose, St., composed a treatise on the Trinity, for the use of the Emperor Gratian, v. 4. note. His birth, and promotion to the Archbishopric of Milan, 38. Opposes the Arian worship of the Empress Justina, 39. Refuses obedience to the Imperial power, 45. Controls the Emperor Theodofius, 68, 69. Imposes penance on Theodo-FF3

Theodofius for his cruel treatment of Theffalonica, 71. Employed his influence over Gratian and Theodofius, to infpire them with maxims of perfecution, 91. Opposes Symmachus, the advocate for the old Pagan religion, 99. Comforts the citizens of Florence with a dream, when besieged by Radagaifus, 218.

Amida, fiege of, by Sapor King of Perfia, iii. 205. Receives the fugitive inhabitants of Nifibis, iv. 220. Is befieged and taken

by Cabades King of Persia, vii. 138.

Amir, Prince of Ionia, his character, and passage into Europe, xi. 438.

Ammianus the historian, his religious character of the Emperor Constantius, iii. 352. His remark on the enmity of Christians toward each other, 403. His account of the fiery obstructions to restoring the temple of Jerusalem, iv. 108. His account of the hostile contest of Damascus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome, iv. 274. Testimony in favour of his historical merit, 427. His character of the nobles of Rome, v. 267.

Ammonius, the mathematician, his measurement of the circuit of

Rome, v. 287.

Ammonius, the monk of Alexandria, his martyrdom, viii. 280.

Amorium, fiege and destruction of, by the caliph Motassem, x. 69.

Amphilocus, Bishop of Iconium, gains the favour of the Emperor Theodosius by an orthodox bon mot, v. 16.

Amphitheatre at Rome, a description of, ii. 103. xii. 418.

Amrou, his birth and character, ix. 425. His invasion and conquest of Egypt, 423. His administration there, 443. His description of the country, 445.

Amurath I. Sultan of the Turks, his reign, xi. 444. Amurath II. Sultan, his reign and character, xii. 150. Anachorets, in monkish history, described, vi. 263.

Anacletus, Pope, his Jewish extraction, xii. 315.

Anastasius I. marries the Empress Ariadne, vii. 6. His war with Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, King of Italy, 24. His economy celebrated, 101. His long wall from the Propontis to the Euxine, 129. Is humbled by the Catholic clergy, viii. 316.

Anastasius II. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 24. His preparations

of defence against the Saracens, x. 8.

Anaftasius, St., his brief history and martyrdom, viii. 223. note.

Anatho, the city of, on the banks of the Euphrates, described, iv.
164.

Andalusia, derivation of the name of that province, ix. 467. note.

Andronicus, president of Lybia, excommunicated by Synesius Bishop

of Ptolemais, iii. 299, 300.

Andronicus Comnenus, his character, and first adventures, ix. 92. Seizes the empire of Constantinople, 104. His unhappy fate, 107. Andronicus the elder, Emperor of Constantinople, his superstition,

Andronicus the younger, Emperor of Constantinople, his licentious character, xi. 363. His civil war against his grandfather, 365. His reign, 369. Is vanquished and wounded by Sultan Orchan, 436. His private application to Pope Benedict of Rome, xii. 66.

Angora,

Angora, battle of, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, xii. 66.
Anianus, Bishop of Orleans, his pious anxiety for the relief of that

city, when befieged by Attila the Hun, vi. 108.

Anician family at Rome, brief history of, v. 259.

Anne Comnena, character of her history of her father, Alexius I. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 83. Her conspiracy against her brother John, 86.

Anthemius, Emperor of the West, his descent and investiture by Leo the Great, vi. 193. His election confirmed at Rome, 194. Is

killed in the fack of Rome by Ricimer, 217, 218.

Anthemius, præfect of the East, character of his administration, in the minority of the Emperor Theodosius the younger, v. 414, 415.

Anthemius the architect, inftances of his great knowledge in mechanics, vii. 114. Forms the defign of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 117.

Anthony, St., father of the Egyptian monks, his history, vi. 241.

Anthropomorphites, among the early Christians, personifiers of the Deity, viii. 269.

Antioch taken and destroyed by Sapor King of Persia, i. 438. Flourishing state of the Christian church there, in the reign of Theo-

dosius, ii. 361.

, history of the body of St. Babylas, Bishop of, iv. 122. The cathedral of, shut up, and its wealth confiscated, by the Emperor Julian, 123. Licentious manners of the citizens, 144. Popular discontents during the residence of Julian there, 146.

, fedition there, against the Emperor Theodosius, v. 59. The

city pardoned, 64.

Great destruction there by an earthquake, 417. Is again seized by Chofroes II., viii. 220.

, is reduced by the Saracens, and ranfomed, ix. 417. Is re-

covered by the Greeks, x. 90.

_____, befieged and taken by the first crufaders, xi. 64.

Antonina, the wife of Belifarius, her character, vii. 164. Examines and convicts Pope Sylverius of treachery, 238. Her activity during the fiege of Rome, 241. Her fecret history, 261. Founds a convent for her retreat, 408.

Antoninus, a Roman refugee at the court of Sapor King of Perfia, flimulates him to an invalion of the Roman provinces, iii. 203.

Antoninus Pius, his character, and that of Hadrian, compared, i. 12. Is adopted by Hadrian, 122.

Antoninus Marcus, his defensive wars, i. 13. Is adopted by Pius at the instance of Hadrian, 123. His character, 135. His war against the united Germans, 381. Suspicious story of his edict in favour of the Christians, ii. 445.

Aper, Arrius, prætorian præfect, and father in law to the Emperor Numerian, is killed by Diocletian as the prefumptive murderer of

that prince, ii. 108.

Apharban, the Persian, his embassy from Narses King of Persia, to the Emperor Galerius, ii. 149.

FF 4 Aposalypse,

Apocalypfe, why now admitted into the canon of the Scriptures, ii. 304, note.

Apocaucus, Admiral of Conftantinople, his confederacy against John Cantacuzene, xi. 374. His death, 380.

Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, his hypothesis of the divine incarnation of Jesus Christ, viii. 271.

Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria, butchers his flock in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the incarnation, viii. 362.

Apollonius of Tyana, his doubtful character, ii. 37, note.

Apo: heofis of the Roman emperors, how this custom was introduced, i. 111.

Apfimar dethrones Leontius Emperor of Constantinople, and usurps his place, ix. 19.

Apulia, is conquered by the Normans, x. 262. Is confirmed to them by papal grant, 270.

Aquileia, befieged by the Emperor Maximin, i. 296. Is taken and defroyed by Attila King of the Huns, vi. 124.

Aquitain, is fettled by the Goths, under their King Wallia, v. 358.
Is conquered by Clovis King of the Franks, vi. 336.

Arabia, its fituation, foil, and climate, ix. 219. Its division into the Sandy, the Stony, and the Happy, 222. The pastoral Arabs, 223. Their horses and camels, 224, 225. Cities of, 226. Manners and customs of the Arabs, 228. Their language, 239. Their benevolence, 242. History and description of the Caaba of Mecca, 245. Religions, 249. Life and doctrine of Mahomet, 253. Conquest of, by Mahomet, 309. Character of the caliphs, 357. Rapid conquests of, 361. Limits of their conquests, x. 1. Three caliphs established, x. 34. Introduction of learning among the Arabians, 41. Their progress in the sciences, 44. Their literary deficiencies, 50. Decline and fall of the caliphs, 77, 78.

Abetio, a veteran under Conftantine the Great, leaves his retirement to oppose the usurper Procopius, iv. 249.

Arbogastes, the Frank, his military promotion under Theodosius in Gaul, and conspiracy against Valentinian the younger, v. 77. Is defeated by Theodosius, and kills himself, v. 84, 85.

Arcadius, son of the Emperor Theodosius, succeeds to the empire of the East, v. 137. His magnificence, 373. Extent of his dominions, 374. Administration of his favourite eunuch Eutropius, 376. His cruel law against treason, 383. Signs the condemnation of Eutropius, 391. His interview with the revolters Tribigild and Gainas, 393, 394. His death, and supposed testament, 412.

Architeture, Roman, the general magnificence of, indicated by the existing ruins, i. 70.

Ardaburius, his expedition to Italy, to reduce the usurper John, vi. 4.
Argonauts, the object of their expedition to Colchos, vii. 321.

Ariadne, daughter of the Emperor Leo, and wife of Zeno, her character, and marriage afterwards with Anastasius, vii. 6.

Arii, a tribe of the Lydians, their terrific mode of waging war, ii. 78.

Arinthaus, is appointed general of the horse by the Emperor Julian on

his Persian expedition, iv. 162. Distinguishes himself against the usurper Procopius, 249.

Arioviftus feizes two thirds of the lands of the Sequani in Gaul, for

himself and his German followers, vi. 354.

Aristobulus, principal minister of the house of Carus, is received into considence by the Emperor Diocletian, ii. 114.

Aristotle, his logic better adapted to the detection of error, than for

the discovery of truth, x. 46.

Arius, is excommunicated for heretical notions concerning the Trinity, iii. 328. Strength of his party, ibid. His opinions examined in the council of Nice, 332. Account of Arian fects, 338. Council of Rimini, 343. His banishment and recal, 347, 348. His fuf-

picious death, 348.

, the Arians perfecute the Catholics in Africa, vi. 280.

Armenia, is seized by Sapor King of Persia, i. 435. Tiridates restored, ii. 139. He is again expelled by the Persians, 144. Is resigned to Tiridates by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 154.

iii. 137. Character of Arfaces Tiranus, King of, and his conduct toward the Emperor Julian, iv. 157, 158. Is reduced by Sapor to a Persian province, 312.

, its distractions and division between the Persians and the Ro.

mans, v. 428.

----, history of Christianity there, viii. 357, 358.

Armies of the Eastern empire, state of, under the Emperor Maurice, viii. 203.

Armorica, the provinces of, form a free government independent of the Romans, v. 363. Submits to Clovis King of the Franks, vi. 322. Settlement of Britons in, 389.

Armour, defensive, is laid aside by the Romans, and adopted by the Barbarians, v. 80.

Arnold of Brescia, his herefy, and history, xii. 271.

Arragon, derivation of the name of that province, i. 31. note.

Arrian, his visit to, and description of, Colchos, vii. 327.

Arsaces Tiranus, King of Armenia, his character, and disaffection to the Emperor Julian, iv. 157, 158. Withdraws his troops treacherously from the Roman Service, 185. His disaftrous end, 312.

Arsenius, patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates the Emperor Michael Palæologus, xi. 327. Faction of the Arsenites, 328.

Artaban, King of Parthia, is defeated and slain by Artaxerxes King of Persia, i. 318.

Artaban, his confpiracy against the Emperor Justinian, vii. 374. Is intrusted with the conduct of the armament sent to Italy, 378.

Artafires, King of Armenia, is deposed by the Persians at the Instigation of his own subjects, v. 431.

Artavarsdes, his revolt against the Greek Emperor Constantine V. at Constantinople, ix. 128.

Artanernes, reftores the Persian monarchy, i. 318. Prohibits every worship but that of Zoroaster, 328. His war with the Romans, 337. His character and maxims, 341.

Artemius.

Artemius, Duke of Egypt under Constantius, is condemned to death under Julian, for cruelty and corruption, iv. 49.

Arthur, King of the Britons, his history obscured by monkish fictions,

vi. 390.

Arvandus, prætorian præfect of Gaul, his trial and condemnation by the Roman fenate, vi. 208.

Ascalon, battle of, between Godfrey King of Jerusalem, and the Sultan

of Egypt, xi. 87.

Ascetics, in ecclesiastical history, account of, vi. 230.

Asclepiodatus, reduces and kills the British usurper Allectus, ii. 128. Afia, fummary view of the revolutions in that quarter of the world, i. 316.

Afia Minor described, i. 38. Amount of its tribute to Rome, 257.

Is conquered by the Turks, x. 370.

Aftarch, the nature of this office among the ancient pagans, ii. 354.

Aspar is commissioned by Theodosius the Younger to conduct Valentinian III. to Italy, vi. 4. Places his steward Leo on the throne of the Eastern empire, 191. He and his sons murdered by Leo, vii. 4.

Affassins, the principality of, destroyed by the Moguls, xi. 417. Affemblies of the people abolished under the Roman emperors, i. 108. The nature of, among the ancient Germans, 362.

Allyria, the province of, described, iv. 166. Is invaded by the Emperor Julian, 169. His retreat, 193.

Aftarte, her image brought from Carthage to Rome, as a spouse for Elagabalus, i. 235.

Aftolphus, King of the Lombards, takes the city of Ravenna, and attacks Rome, ix. 146. Is repelled by Pepin King of France, 148. Altrology, why cultivated by the Arabian aftronomers, x. 48.

Athalaric, the fon of Amalasontha Queen of Italy, his education and

character, vii. 208.

Xi. 352.

teather.

Athanaric the Gothic chief, his war against the Emperor Valens, iv. 326. His alliance with Theodofius, his death and funeral, 432.

Athanasius, St., confesses his understanding bewildered by meditating on the divinity of the Logos, iii. 322. General view of his opinions, 335. Is banished, 349. His character and adventures, 356. iv. 131. 228. 267. Was not the author of the famous creed under his name, vi. 201. note.

Athanasius, patriarch of Constantinople, his contests with the Greek

Emperor Andronicus the Elder, xi. 359.

Athenais, daughter of the philosopher Leontius. See Eudocia.

Athens, the libraries in that city, why faid to have been spared by the Goths, i. 434. Naval strength of the republic of, during its profperity, ii. 257. note.

, is laid under contribution by Alaric the Goth, v. 180. ----, review of the philosophical history of, vii. 143. The schools

of, filenced by the Emperor Justinian, 150. revolutions of, after the crusades, and its present state,

Athos

Athos, mount, beatific visions of the monks of, xi. 387.

Atlantic Ocean, derivation of its name, i. 42.

Attacotti, a Caledonian tribe of cannibals, account of, iv. 298.

Attalus, præfect of Rome, is chosen Emperor by the senate, under the influence of Alaric, v. 305. Is publicly degraded, 309. His future fortune, 348.

Attalus, a noble youth of Auvergne, his adventures, vi. 365.

Attila, the Hun, vi. 40. Description of his person and character, 41. His conquests, 45. His treatment of his captives, 55. Imposes terms of peace on Theodosius the Younger, 61. Oppresses Theodosius by his ambassadors, 65. Description of his royal residence, 72. His reception of the ambassadors of Theodosius, 75. His behaviour on discovering the scheme of Theodosius to get him assassinated, 82. His haughty messages to the emperors of the East and West, 88. His invasion of Gaul, 107. His oration to his troops on the approach of Ætius and Theodoric, 115. Battle of Chalons, 116. His invasion of Italy, 122. His retreat purchased by Valentinian, 131. His death, 134.

Atys, and Cybele, the fable of, allegorifed by the pen of Julian, iv.

Avars, are discomfited by the Turks, vii. 289. Their embassy to the Emperor Justinian, 291. Their conquests in Poland and Germany, 292. Their embassy to Justin II. viii. 115. They join the Lombards against the Gepidæ, 119. Pride, policy, and power, of their chagan Baian, 194. Their conquests, 199. Invest Constantinople, 233.

Averroes, his religious infidelity, how far justifiable, x. 51. note. Aversa, a town near Naples, built as a settlement for the Normans,

x. 259.

Augurs, Roman, their number and peculiar office, v. 92.

Augustin, his account of the miracles wrought by the body of St. Stephen, v. 129. Celebrates the piety of the Goths in the facking of Rome, 313. Approves the perfecution of the Donatists of Africa, vi. 17. His death, character, and writings, 22. History of his relicts, vii. 185. note.

Augustulus, fon of the patrician Orestes, is chosen Emperor of the West, vi. 222. Is deposed by Odoacer, 224. His banishment to the

Lucullan villa in Campania, 228.

Augustus, Emperor, his moderate exercise of power, i. 2. Is imitated by his successors, 4. His naval regulations, 29. His division of Gaul, 32. His situation after the battle of Actium, 95. He reforms the senate, 97. Procures a senatorial grant of the Imperial dignity, 98. Division of the provinces between him and the senate, 102. Is allowed his military command and guards in the city of Rome, 103. Obtains the consular and tribunitian offices for life, 104. His character and policy, 114. Adopts Tiberius, 119. Formed an accurate register of the revenues and expences of the empire, 257. Taxes instituted by him, 260. His naval establishments at Ravenna, v. 208.

Augustus and Casar, those titles explained and discriminated, i. 113.

Avienus,

Avienus, his character and embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila King of the Huns, vi. 130.

Avignon, the holy fee how transferred from Rome to that city, xii. 30%

Return of Pope Urban V. to Rome, 365.

Avitus, his embaffy from Ætius to Theodoric King of the Visigoths. Assumes the empire, 157. His deposition and death. vi. 110. 166, 167.

Aurelian, Emperor, his birth and fervices, ii. 15. His expedition against Palmyra, 37. His triumph, 45. His cruelty, and death,

54, 55.

Aurengzebe, account of his immense camp, i. 333. note.

Aureolus is invested with the purple on the Upper Danube, ii. 2. Aufonius, the tutor of the Emperor Gratian, his promotions, v. 3. note.

Authoris, King of the Lombards in Italy, his wars with the Franks, viii. 144. His adventurous gallantry, 153.

Autun, the city of, stormed and plundered by the legions in Gaul, ii. 32. Auvergne, province and city of, in Gaul, revolutions of, vi. 362.

Auxiliaries, Barbarian, fatal confequences of their admission into the Roman armies, iii. 66.

Azuch, a Turkish slave, his generous friendship to the Princess Anne Comnena, ix. 87. And to Manuel Comnenus, 88. Azimuntium, the citizens of, defend their privileges against Peter,

brother of the Eastern Emperor Maurice, viii, 201, 202.

Azimus, remarkable spirit shewn by the citizens of, against Attila and his Huns, vi. 63.

Baalbee, description of the ruins of, ix. 404.

Babylas, St., Bishop of Antioch, his posthumous history, iv. 121. Bagauda, in Gaul, revolt of, its occasion, and suppression by Maxi-

mian, ii. 120.

Bagdad becomes the royal refidence of the Abbaffides, x. 35. Derivation of the name, 36. note. The fallen state of the caliphs of, 83. The city of, stormed and facked by the Moguls, xi. 418.

Bahram, the Persian general, his character and exploits, viii. 181. Is provoked to rebellion, 183. Dethrones Chofroes, 188. His usurp-

ation and death, 100.

Baian, chagan of the Avars, his pride, policy, and power, viii. 194. His perfidious feizure of Sirmium and Singidunum, 197. His conquests, 199. His treacherous attempt to seize the Emperor Heraclius, 228. Invests Constantinople in conjunction with the Perfians, 243. Retires, 245.

Bajazet I. Sultan of the Turks, his reign, xi. 321. His correspondence with Tamerlane, xii. 17. Is defeated and captured by Tamerlane, 28. Inquiry into the story of the iron cage, 30. His

fons, 47.

Balbinus elected joint Emperor with Maximus, by the fenate, on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 291.

Baldwin,

Baldwin, Count of Flanders, engages in the fourth crusade, ix. 190. Is chosen Emperor of Constantinople, 246. Is taken prisoner by Calo John, King of the Bulgarians, 260. His death, 262.

Baldwin II. Emperor of Constantinople, xii. 273. His distresses and expedient, 276. His expulsion from that city, 287.

Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, accompanies him on the first

crusade, xi. 31. Founds the principality of Edessa, 63.

Baltic Sea, progreffive fubfidence of the water of, i. 346. note. How the Romans acquired a knowledge of the naval powers of, iv. 288. note.

Baptism, theory and practice of, among the primitive Christians,

111. 272.

Barbary, the name of that country, whence derived, ix. 463. note. The Moors of, converted to the Mahometan faith, 363.

Barbatio, general of infantry in Gaul under Julian, his mifconduct,

Bacochebas, his rebellion against the Emperor Hadrian, ii. 385.

Bards, Celtic, their power of exciting a martial enthusiasm in the people, i. 374.

Bards, British, their peculiar office and duties, vi. 398. Bardas, Cæsar, one of the restorers of learning, x. 457.

Bari is taken from the Saracens, by the joint efforts of the Latin and

Greek empires, x. 248.

Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, his dispute with the Greek theologians about the light of mount Thabor, xi. 388. His embassy to Rome, from Andronicus the younger, xii. 66. His literary character, 120. Basil I. the Macedonian, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 48. Re-

duces the Paulicians, x. 181.

Bafil II. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 67. His great wealth, x. 213.

His inhuman treatment of the Bulgarians, 202.

Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, no evidence of his having been perfecuted by the Emperor Valens, iv. 269. Insults his friend Gregory Nazianzen, under the appearance of promotion, v. 19. The father of the monks of Pontus, vi. 244, 245.

Bafilifeus, brother of the Empress Verina, is entrusted with the command of the armament sent against the Vandals in Africa, vi. 201. His sleet destroyed by Genseric, 203. His promotion to the empire,

and death, vii. 5.

Bassianus, high priest of the sun, his parentage, i. 229. Is proclaimed Emperor at Emesa, ibid. See Elagabalus.

Baffianus, brother-in-law to Constantine, revolts against him, ii. 244.

Baffora, its foundation and fituation, ix. 368. Baths, public, of Rome described, v. 282.

Batnæ, reception of the Emperor Julian there, iv. 154.

Beafts, wild, the variety of, introduced in the circus, for the public games at Rome, ii. 101.

Beausobre, M. de, character of his Histoire Critique du Manicheisme, viii. 260. note.

Beder, battle of, between Mahomet and the Koreish of Mecca, ix. 299. Bedoweens of Arabia, their mode of life, ix. 223.

Bees

Bees, remarks on the structure of their combs and cells, x. 42. note. Belifarius, his birth and military promotion, vii. 161. Is appointed by Justinian to conduct the African war, 164. Embarkation of his troops, 167. Lands in Africa, 171. Defeats Gelimer, 176. Is received into Carthage, 177. Second defeat of Gelimer, 184. Reduction of Africa, 186. Surrender of Gelimer, 191. His tri-. umphant return to Constantinople, 194. Is declared fole conful, 195. He menaces the Oftrogoths of Italy, 205. He feizes Sicily, Invades Italy, 217. Takes Naples, 220. He enters Rome, He is besieged in Rome by the Goths, ibid. The siege raised, 246. Causes Constantine, one of his generals, to be killed. 247. Siege of Ravenna, 253. Takes Ravenna by stratagem, 256. Returns to Constantinople, 258. His character and behaviour, Scandalous life of his wife Antonina, 261. His diffrace and submission, 267. Is sent into the East to oppose Chosroes King of Persia, 315 His politic reception of the Persian ambassadors, 316. His fecond campaign in Italy, 360. His ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Rome, 364. Dissuades Totila from destroying Rome, 369. Recovers the city, 370. His final recal from Italy, 372. Rescues Constantinople from the Bulgarians, 404. His diffrace and death, 407.

Benefice, in feudal language explained, vi. 357.

Benevento, battle of, between Charles of Anjou, and Mainfroy the Sicilian usurper, xi. 339.

Beneventum, anecdotes relating to the fiege of, x. 253.

Benjamin of Tudela, his account of the riches of Constantinople, x. 112.

Beraa. of Aleppo, reception of the Emperor Julian there, iv. 154. Bernard, St., his character and influence in promoting the fecond crufade, xi. 117. His character of the Romans, xi. 270.

Berytus, account of the law school established there, iii. 53. Is deferoyed by an earthquake, vii. 417.

Bernier, his account of the camp of Aurengzebe, i. 333. note.

Beffarion, Cardinal, his character, xii. 129.

Besser, governor of Rome for Justinian, his rapacity during the siege of that city by Totila the Goth, vii. 362. Occasions the loss of Rome, 366.

Bezabde, is taken and garrifoned by Sapor King of Perfia, iii. 210. Is ineffectually befieged by Constantius, 212.

Bindoes, a Saffanian Prince, deposes Hormous King of Persia, viii. 184. Birtbright, the least invidious of all human distinctions, i. 271.

Bishops, among the primitive Christians, the office of, explained, ii. 331. Progress of episcopal authority, 335. Assumed dignity of episcopal government, 351.

, number of, at the time of Constantine the Great, iii. 283. Mode of their election, 284. Their power of ordination, 287. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese how divided, 294. Their civil jurisdiction, 295. Their spiritual censures, 297. Their legislative assemblies, 303.

Bishops, rural, their rank and duties, iii. 284.

Biffestile, superstitious regard to this year by the Romans, iv. 238. Bithynia, the cities of, plundered by the Goths, i. 426.

Blemmyes, their revolt against the Emperor Diocletian, ii. 124.

Boccace, his literary character, xii. 123.

Boethius, the learned fenator of Rome, his history, vii. 43. His im-

prisonment and death, 48.

Bohemond, the fon of Robert Guiscard, his character and military exploits, x. 298. xi. 35. His route to Constantinople on the His flattering reception by the Emperor Alexius crusade, 43. Comnenus, 49. Takes Antioch, and obtains the principality of it, His subsequent transactions and death, 103.

Boniface, St., his history, ii. 483.

Boniface, Count, the Roman general under Valentinian III., his character, vi. 9. Is betrayed into a revolt by Ætius, 11. His repentance, 18. Is befieged in Hippo Regius by Genferic King of the Returns to Italy, and is killed by Ætius, 24. Vandals, 21.

Boniface VIII., Pope, his violent contest with Philip the Fair, King of France, and his character, xii. 306. Institutes the Jubilee, 310. Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, is chosen general of the fourth crufade to the Holy Land, xi. 198. Is made King of Macedonia, 249. Is killed by the Bulgarians, 264.

Bosphorus, revolutions of that kingdom, i. 422. Is seized by the

Goths, 423. The strait of, described, ii. 4. Bofra, fiege of, by the Saracens, ix. 383, 329.

Botheric, the Imperial general in Theffalonica, murdered in a fedition,

Boucicault, marshal, defends Constantinople against Bajazet, xi. 458. Boulogne, the port of, recovered from Caraufius, by Constantius Chlorus, ii. 127.

Bowides, the Persian dynasty of, x. 83.

Brancaleone, senator of Rome, his character, xii. 286.

Bretagne, the province of, in France, fettled by Britons, vi. 380.

Britain, reflections on the conquest of, by the Romans, i. 5. Description of, 33. Colonies planted in, 58. note. A colony of Vandals settled there by Probus, ii. 83. Revolt of Carausius, 123.

---, how first peopled, iv. 291. Invasions of, by the Scots and Picts, 295. Is reftored to peace by Theodofius, 298.

-, revolt of Maximus there, v. 8. Revolt of the troops there against Honorius, 228. Is abandoned by the Romans, 363. State of, until the arrival of the Saxons, 364. Descent of the Saxons on, vi. 381. Establishment of the Saxon heptarchy, 384. Wars in, 386. Saxon devastation of the country, 392. Manners of the independent Britons, 398. Description of, by Procopius, 402.

———, conversion of the Britons by a mission from Pope Gregory

the Great, viii. 167. The doctrine of the incarnation received

there, 334.

Brutus the Trojan, his colonization of Britain, now given up by intelligent historians, iv. 291. note.

Buffon, M., his extraordinary burning mirrors, vii. 114. note.

Bulgarians,

Bulgarians, their character, vii. 277, 278. Their inroads on the Eaftern empire, 281. Invalion of, under Zabergan, 401. Repulfed by Belifarius, 403.

, the kingdom of, destroyed by Basil II. the Greek Emperor,

ix. 68. x. 202.

of Rome, xi. 183. War with the Greeks under Calo-John, 257.

Bull-feast, in the Colifeum at Rome, described, xii. 421.

Burgundians, their fettlement on the Elbe, and maxims of government, iv. 284. Their fettlement in Gaul, v. 359. Limits of the kingdom of, under Gundobald, vi. 324. Are fubdued by the Franks, 329.

Burnet, character of his Sacred Theory of the Earth, ii. 306. note.

Burampooter, fource of that river, xii. 15. note.

Busir, in Egypt, four several places known under this name, x. 32. note. Buzurg, the philosophical preceptor of Hormoz King of Persia, his high reputation, viii. 178. note.

Byzantine historians, lift and character of, xii. 255. note.

Byzantium, fiege of, by the Emperor Severus, i. 193. Is taken by Maximin, ii. 238. Siege of, by Constantine the Great, 260. Its fituation described, iii. 3. By whom founded, 4. note. See Conflantinople.

C

Gaaba, or temple of Mecca, described, ix. 245. The idols in, destroyed by Mahomet, 308.

Cabades, King of Perfia, befieges and takes Amida, viii. 138. Seizes the straits of Caucasus, 141. Vicissitudes of his reign, 298.

Cadefia, battle of, between the Saracens and the Perfians, ix. 365. Cadijab, her marriage with Mahomet, ix. 255. Is converted by him to his new religion, 282. Her death, 288. Mahomet's veneration for her memory, 328.

Cacilian, the peace of the church in Africa disturbed by him and his party, iii. 309.

Cacilius, the authority of his account of the famous vision of Constantine the Great, inquired into, iii. 260.

Caleflian, fenator of Carthage, his diffress on the taking of that city

by Genferic, vi. 31.

Cafar, Julius, his inducement to the conquest of Britain, i, 5. Degrades the senatorial dignity, 96. note. Assumes a place among the tutelar deities of Rome, in his life-time, 111. His address in appearing a military sedition, 252. note. His prudent application of the coronary gold presented to him, iii. 96.

Cafar and Augulus, those titles explained and discriminated, i. 113. Cafars, of the Emperor Julian, the philosophical fable of that work

delineated, iv. 139.

Cafarea, capital of Cappadocia, taken by Sapor King of Persa, i. 439. Is reduced by the Saracens, ix. 420.

Cabina, Queen of the Moors of Africa, her policy to drive the Arabs

out of the country, ix. 464.

Cairoan,

Cairoan, the city of, founded in the kingdom of Tunis, ix. 459. Caled, deferts from the idolatrous Arabs to the party of Mahomet, ix. 307. His gallant conduct at the battle of Muta, 314. His victories under the caliph Abubeker, 364. Attends the Saracen army on the Syrian expedition, 382. His valour at the fiege of Damascus, 386. Distinguishes himself at the battle of Aiznadin, 391. His cruel treatment of the refugees from Damascus, 392. Joins in plundering the fair of Abyla, 402. Commands the Saracens at the battle of Yermuk, 408. His death, 422.

Caledonia, and its ancient inhabitants, described, iv. 293.

Caledonia, and its attent minastrants, determined and caledonia, and account of, i. 207. Caliphe, of the Saracens, character of, ix. 357. Their rapid conquests, 361. Extent and power of, 500. Triple division of the office, x. 34. They patronise learning, 41. Decline and fall of their empire, 78. xi. 417.

Calinicum, the punishment of a religious sedition in that city opposed

by St. Ambrose, v. 68.

Gallinicus of Heliopolis affifts in defending Conftantinople against the Saracens, by his chymical inflammable compositions, x. 14. Calmucks, black, recent emigration of, from the confines of Russia to

those in China, iv. 370.

Calo-John, the Bulgarian chief, his war with Baldwin, the Latin emperor of the Greeks, xi. 257. Defeats, and takes him prifoner, 260. His favage character and death, 266.

Calocerus, a camel-driver, excites an infurrection in the island of

Cyprus, iii. 119.

Calphurnius, the machinery of his eclogue on the accession of the Emperor Carus, ii. 93.

Calvin, the reformer, his doctrine of the Eucharist, x. 189. Examination of his conduct to Servetus, 191.

Camel, of Arabia, described, ix. 225.

Camifardes of Languedoc, their enthusiasm compared with that of the

Circumcellions of Numidia, iii. 401.

Campania, the province of, defolated by the ill policy of the Roman emperors, iii. 87. Description of the Lucullan villa in, vi. 229. Canada, the prefent climate and circumstances of, compared with those of ancient Germany, i. 348.

Cannon, enormous one of the Sultan Mahomet II. described, xii. 197.

Burfts, 211.

Canoes, Russian, a description of, x. 229.

Cantacuzene, John, character of his Greek History, xi. 361. His good fortune under the younger Andronicus, 372. Is driven to assume the purple, 376. His lively distinction between foreign and civil war, 379. His entry into Constantinople, and reign, 382. Abdicates, and turns monk, 386. His war with the Genoese factory at Pera, 394. Marries his daughter to a Turk, xii. 69. His negociation with Pope Clement VI., ibid.

Cantemir's History of the Ottoman Empire, a character of, xi. 434. note. Capelianus, governor of Mauritania, defeats the younger Gordian,

and takes Carthage, i. 289.

VOL. XII, GG Capitation

Capitation tan, under the Roman emperors, an account of, iii. 88. Capito, Ateius, the civilian, his character, viii. 30. Capitol of Rome, burning and restoration of, ii. 412. Cappadocia, famous for its sine breed of horses, iii. 76. Capraria, isle of, character of the monks there, v. 168.

Captives, how treated by the Barbarians, vi. 55. 362.

Caracalla, fon of the Emperor Severus, his fixed antipathy to his brother Geta, i. 206. Succeeds to the empire jointly with him, 211. Tendency of his edict to extend the privileges of Roman citizens, to all the free inhabitants of his empire, 255. His view in this transaction, 266. Doubles the tax on legacies and inherit-

ances, 267.

Caracorum, the Tartar settlement of, described, xi. 425.

Caravans, Sogdian, their route to and from China, for filk, to supply the Roman empire, vii. 94.

Caraufius, his revolt in Britain, ii. 123. Is acknowledged by Diocletian and his colleagues, 126.

Carbeas, the Paulician, his revolt from the Greek emperor to the

Saracens, x. 178.

Cardinals, the election of a pope vested in them, xii. 300. Institution of the conclave, 301.

Carduene, fituation and history of that territory, ii. 154.

Carinus, the fon of Carus, fucceeds his father in the empire jointly with his brother Numerian, ii. 97.

Carizmians, their invasion of Syria, xi. 158.

Carlovingian race of kings, commencement of, in France, ix. 151. Carmath, the Arabian reformer, his character, x. 75. His military exploits, 76.

Carmelites, from whom they derive their pedigree, vi. 240. note.

Carpathian mountains, their fituation, i. 345.

_____, The temple of Venus there, converted into a Christian church,

v. 107. Is furprifed by Genferic King of the Vandals, vi. 28.

The gates of, opened to Belifarius, vii. 177. Natural alterations produced by time in the fituation of this city, 179. note.

The walls of, repaired by Belifarius, 181. Infurrection of the Roman troops there, 348.

_____, Is reduced and pillaged by Hassan the Saracen, ix. 461.

Subsequent history of, 462.

Carthagena, an extraordinary rich filver mine worked there, for the

Romans, i. 258.

Carus, Emperor, his election and character, ii. 91.

Caspian and Iberian gates of Mount Caucasus, distinguished, vii. 140, Caspians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, viii. 32. Caspidorius, his Gothic history, i. 387. His account of the infant state of the republic of Venice, vi. 127. His long and prosperous life, vii. 20.

Callriot, George, fee Scanderberg.

Catalans,

Catalans, their fervice and war in the Greek empire, xi. 346. Catholic church, the doctrines of, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, iii. 322. The authority of, extended to the minds of mankind, 326. Faith of the Western or Latin church, 342. Is distracted by factions in the cause of Athanasius, 359. The doxology, how introduced, and how perverted, 388. The revenue of, transferred to the heathen priests, by Julian, iv. 110.

faith, v. 14. The progressive steps of idolatry in, 123. Persecution of the Catholics in Africa, vi. 280. Pious frauds of the Catholics in Africa, vi. 280.

tholic clergy, 290.

How bewildered by the doctrine of the incarnation, viii. 275.

Union of the Greek and Latin churches, 334.

——, Schifm of the Greek church, xi. 169.

Celestine, Pope, espouses the party of Cyril against Nestorius, and pronounces the degradation of the latter from his episcopal dignity, viii, 287.

Celtic language, driven to the mountains by the Latin, i. 60, 61. note. Cenfor, the office of, revived under the Emperor Decius, i. 400. But without effect, 402.

Cees, the manufacture of filk first introduced to Europe from that island, vii. 90.

Cerca, the principal Queen of Attila the King of the Huns, her reception of Maximin the Roman ambaffador, vi. 74.

Cerinthus, his opinion of the twofold nature of Jesus Christ, viii. 269. Ceylon, ancient names given to that island, and the imperfect know-

ledge of, by the Romans, iv. 142. note.

Chalcedon, the injudicious fituation of this city stigmatised by proverbial contempt, iii. 7. A tribunal erected there by the Emperor Julian, to try and punish the evil ministers of his predecessor Constantius, iv. 46.

, A stately church built there by Rusinus, the infamous mi-

nifter of the Emperor Theodofius, v. 143.

______, Is taken by Chofroes II. King of Perfia, viii. 222.

Chalcondyles, the Greek historian, his remarks on the feveral nations of Europe, xii. 82.

Chalons, battle of, between the Romans and Attila King of the Huns, vi. 112.

Chamavians reduced and generously treated by Julian, iii. 227. Chancellor, the original and modern application of this word compared, ii. 99. note.

Characters, national, the distinction of, how formed, iv. 341.

Chariots of the Romans described, v. 269. note.

Charlemagne conquers the kingdom of Lombardy, ix. 150. His reception at Rome, 154. Eludes fulfilling the promifes of Pepin and himself to the Roman pontiff, 159. His coronation at Rome by the Pope Leo III., 173. His reign and character, 174. Extension of his empire, 180. His neighbours and enemies, 185. His fucceffors, 187. His negociations and treaty with the Eastern empire,

empire, 191. State of his family and dominions in the tenth century, x. 148.

Charles the Fat, Emperor of the Romans, ix. 189.

Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily, xi. 339. The Sicilian Vespers, 344. His character as a senator of Rome, xii. 288.

Charles IV. Emperor of Germany, his weakness and poverty, ix. 213. His public oftentation, 215. Contrast between him and Augustus,

Charles V. Emperor, parallel between him and Diocletian, ii. 171. And between the fack of Rome by him, and that by Alaric the Goth, v. 322, 323.

Chastity, its high esteem among the ancient Germans, i. 367. And the primitive Christians, ii. 323.

Chemistry, the art of, from whom derived, x. 49. Cherfonefus, Thracian, how fortified by the Emperor Justinian, vii. 128.

Chersonites affish Constantine the Great against the Goths, iii. 124. Are cruelly perfecuted by the Greek Emperor Justinian II., ix. 21. Chefs, the object of the game of, by whom invented. vii. 307.

Childeric, King of France, deposed under papal fanction, ix. 152. Children, the exposing of, a prevailing vice of antiquity, viii. 56.

Natural, according to the Roman laws, what, 67. China, how distinguished in ancient history, ii. 141. note. Great

numbers of children annually exposed there, 347. note.

, its fituation, iv. 357. The high chronology claimed by the historians of, ibid. The great wall of, when erected, 361. Was twice conquered by the northern tribes, 364.

---, The Romans supplied with filk by the caravans from, vii. 93. - is conquered by the Moguls, xi. 414. 426. Expulsion of the Moguls, 427, 428.

Chivalry, origin of the order of, xi. 36.

Chondomar, Prince of the Alemanni, taken prisoner by Julian at the battle of Strafburgh, iii. 224.

Chofroes, King of Armenia, affaffinated by the emiffaries of Sapor King of Persia, i. 435.

Chofroes, fon of Tiridates, King of Armenia, his character, iii. 138. Chofroes I. King of Persia, protects the last surviving philosophers of Athens, in his treaty with the Emperor Justinian, vii. 151. Review of his history, 299. Sells a peace to Justinian, 307. His invafion of Syria, 311. His negociations with Justinian, 337. His prosperity, 339. Battle of Melitene, viii. 176. His death, 177.

Chofroes II. King of Persia is raised to the throne on the deposition of his father Hormouz, viii. 186. Is reduced to implore the affiftance of the Emperor Maurice, 188. His restoration and policy, 190. Conquers Syria, 219. Palestine, 221. Egypt and Asia Minor, 222. His reign and magnificence, 223. Rejects the Mahometan religion, 226. Imposes an ignominious peace on the Emperor Heraclius, 229, 230. His flight, deposition, and death, 251.

Chozars, the hord of, fent by the Turks to the affiftance of the Emperor

Heraclius, viii. 246.

Christ,

Christ, the festival of his birth, why fixed by the Romans at the

winter folftice, iv. 22. note.

Christians, primitive, the various sects into which they branched out, ii. 227. Afcribed the Pagan idolatry to the agency of dæmons, 288. Believed the end of the world to be near at hand, 300. The miraculous powers afcribed to the primitive church, 309. Their faith stronger than in modern times, 314. Their superior virtue and aufterity, 316. Repentance, a virtue in high efteem among them, ibid. Their notions of marriage and chastity, 323. They disclaim war and government, 326. Were active however in the internal government of their own fociety, 328. Bishops, 331. Synods, 334. Metropolitans and primates, 337. Bishop of Rome, 339. Their probable proportion to the Pagan fubjects of the empire before the conversion of Constantine the Great, 371. Inquiry into their perfecutions, 381. Why more odious to the governing powers than the Jews, 387. Their religious meetings fuspected, 394. Are perfecuted by Nero, as the incendiaries of Rome, 405. Instructions of the Emperor Trajan to Pliny the Younger for the regulation of his conduct towards them, 419. Remained exposed to popular refentment on public festivities, 420. Legal mode of proceeding against them, 422. The ardour with which they courted martyrdom, 437. When allowed to erect places for public worship, 448. Their perfecution under Diocletian and his affociates, 467. An edict of toleration for them published by Galerius just before his death, 484. Some considerations ne-cessary to be attended to in reading the sufferings of the martyrs, 491. Edict of Milan published by Constantine the Great, iii. 244. Political recommendations of the Christian morality to Constantine, 247. Theory and practice of passive obedience, 248. Their loyalty and zeal, 253. The facrament of baptism, how adminiltered in early times, 272. Extraordinary propagation of Christianity after it obtained the Imperial fanction, 276, 277. Becomes the established religion of the Roman empire, 280. Spiritural and temporal powers diftinguished, 282. Review of the epifcopal order in the church, 283. The ecclefiaftical revenue of each diocefe, how divided, 294. Their legislative assemblies, 303. Edict of Constantine the Great against heretics, 307. Mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, 320. The doctrines of the Catholic church, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, 322. General character of the Christian sects, 403. Christian schools prohibited by the Emperor Julian, iv. 111. They are removed from all offices of trust, 114. Are obliged to reinstate Their imprudent and irregular zeal the Pagan temples, 115. against idolatry, 135.

Christians, distinction of, into vulgar and ascetic, vi. 238. Conversion

of the barbarous nations, 268.

Christianity, inquiry into the progress and establishment of, ii. 265. Religion and character of the Jews, 267. The Jewish religion the basis of Christianity, 274. Is offered to all mankind, ibid. The sects into which the Christians divided, 277. The theology of

reduced to a fystematical form in the school of Alexandria, 363. Injudicious conduct of its early advocates, 377. Its perfecutions, 381. First erection of churches, 448.

Christianity, the system of, found in Plato's doctrine of the Logos, iii. 318.

-, Salutary effects refulting from the conversion of the barbarous nations, vi. 275.

-, Its progress in the north of Europe, x. 242.

Chrysaphius the eunuch engages Edecon to affaffinate his King Attilia, vi. 80. Is put to death by the Empress Pulcheria, 84. Affifted at the second counsel of Ephesus, viii. 300.

Chrysochier, general of the revolted Paulicians, over-runs and pilla-

ges Afia Minor, x. 179. His death, 181.

Chryfoloras, Manuel, the Greek envoy, his character, xii. 126. His admiration of Rome and Constantinople, 142.

Chrysopolis, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 262.

Chryfostom, St., his account of the pompous luxury of the Emperor Arcadius, v. 373. Protects his fugitive patron the eunuch Eutropius, 391. History of his promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, 398. His character and administration, 399, 400. His perfecution, 404. His death, 410. His relics removed to Constantinople, ibid. His encomium on the monastic life, V1. 247. note.

Churches, Christian, the first erection of, ii. 448. Demolition of, under Diocletian, 474. Splendour of, under Constantine the Great,

iii. 292. Seven, of Asia, the fate of, xi. 437.

Gibalis, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 246. Cicero, his view of the philosophical opinions as to the immortality of the foul, ii. 294. His encomium on the study of the law, viii. 9. System of his republic, 27.

Cimmerian darkness, the expression of, whence derived, v. 271. note. Circumcellions of Africa, Donatist schimatics, history of their revolt, iii. 398. Their religious fuicides, 401. Perfecution of, by the

Emperor Honorius, vi. 16.

Circumcifion of both fexes, a physical custom in Æthiopia, unconnected with religion, viii. 373.

Circus, Roman, the four factions in, described, vii. 75. Constantinople, and the Eastern empire distracted by these factions, 77.

Cities in the Roman empire enumerated, i. 77.

-, Commercial of Italy, rife and government of, ix. 205, 206. Citizens of Rome, motive of Caracalla for extending the privileges of, to all the free inhabitants of the empire, i. 255. 267. Political tendency of this grant, 269.

City, the birth of a new one, how celebrated by the Romans,

111. 15. note.

Civilians of Rome, origin of the profession, and the three periods in

the history of, viii. 23.

Civilis, the Batavian, his fuccefsful revolt against the Romans, i. 377. Claudian the poet, and panegyrist of Stilicho, his works supply the

deficiencies of history, v. 151. Celebrates the murder of Rusinus, 159. His death and character, 247. His character of the eunuch Eutropius, 279.

Claudius, Emperor, chosen by the Pretorian guards, without the concurrence of the fenate, i. 116.

Claudius, Emperor, fucceffor to Gallienus, his character and elevation to the throne, ii. 4.

Cleander, minister of the Emperor Commodus, his history, i. 145. Clemens, Flavius, and his wife Domitilla, why distinguished as Christian martyrs, ii. 416.

Clement III., Pope, and the Emperor Henry III. mutually confirm

each other's fovereign characters, x. 302.

Clement V., Pope, transfers the holy fee from Rome to Avignon, xii. 308.

Clergy, when first distinguished from the laity, ii. 340. iii. 282.

——, The ranks and numbers of, how multiplied, iii. 290. Their property, ibid. Their offences only cognisable by their own order, 206. Valentinian's edict to restrain the avarice of, iv. 270.

296. Valentinian's edict to restrain the avarice of, iv. 270. Clodion, the first of the Merovingian race of kings of the Franks, in

Gaul, his reign, vi. 100.

Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, his fleady fidelity during the revolutions at Rome, i. 176. Declares himself against Julianus, 177. Clotilda, niece of the King of Burgundy, is married to Clovis King of the Franks, and converts her Pagan husband, vi. 318. Exhorts her

husband to the Gothic war, 331.

Clovis, King of the Franks, his descent and reign, vi. 310.

Cluverius, his account of the objects of adoration among the ancient Germans, i. 370. note.

Cochineal, importance of the discovery of, in the art of dyeing, vii. 90.

• Code of Justinian, how formed, viii. 37. New edition of, 46. Codicils, how far admitted by the Roman law respecting testaments, viii. 80.

Canobites, in monkish history, described, vi. 263.

Coinage, how regulated by the Roman emperors, xii. 281.

Colchor, the modern Mingrelia, described, vii. 319. Manners of the natives, 322. Revolt of, from the Romans to the Persians, and repentance, 330. Colchian war, in consequence, 334.

Colifeum, of the Emperor Titus, observations on, xii. 418. Exhibition

of a bull-feast in, 421.

Collyridian heretics, an account of, ix. 261.

Colonies, Roman, how planted, i. 58.

Colonna, history of the Roman family of, xii. 316.

Columns of Hercules, their fituation, i. 425.

Comana, the rich temple of, suppressed, and the revenues confiscated, by the emperors of the East, iii. 76.

Combat, judicial, origin of, in the Salic laws, vi. 351. The laws of, according to the affize of Jerusalem, xi. 96. Apology for the practice of, 319. note.

GG4

Comets

Comets, account of those which appeared in the reign of Justinian, vii. 412.

Commentiolus, his difgraceful warfare against the Avars, viii. 202.

Commodus, Emperor, his education, character, and reign, i. 137.

Commeni, origin of the family of, on the throne of Constantinople, ix. 74. Its extinction, xii. 246.

Conception, immaculate, of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of, from

whence derived, ix. 266.

Concubine, according to the Roman civil law, explained, viii. 67.

Conflagration, general, ideas of the primitive Christians concerning,
ii. 305:

Conquest, the vanity of, not so justifiable as the desire of spoil, iv. 297.

Is rather atchieved by art than personal valour, vi. 42.

Conrad III., Emperor, engages in the fecond crufade, xi. 105. His difastrous expedition, 113.

Conrad of Montferrat defends Tyre against Saladin, xi. 140. Is affassinated, 146.

Constance, treaty of, ix. 207.

Constant, the third fon of Constantine the Great, is sent to govern the western provinces of the empire, iii. 118. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, on the death of their father, 133. Is invaded by his brother Constantine, 146. Is killed, on the usurpation of Magnentius, 149. Espoused the cause of Athanasius against his brother Constantius, 368.

Constant II., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 13.

Constantia, Princess, grand-daughter of Constantine the Great, is carried by her mother to the camp of the usurper Procopius, iv. 247. Narrowly escapes falling into the hands of the Quadi, 329. Marries the Emperor Gratian, 335.

Conflantina, daughter of Conflantine the Great, and widow of Hannibalianus, places the diadem on the head of the general Vetranio, iii. 150. Is married to Gallus, 172. Her character, 173. Dies,

170.

Constantina, widow of the eastern Emperor Maurice, the cruel fate of,

and her daughters, viii. 213.

Conflantine the Great, the feveral opinions as to the place of his birth, ii. 190. His history, 191. He is faluted Emperor by the British legions on the death of his father, 194. Marries Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, 203. Puts Maximian to death, 212. General review of his administration in Gaul, 215. Undertakes to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius, 220. Defeats Maxentius, and enters Rome, 231. His alliance with Licinius, 237. Defeats Licinius, 246. 248. Peace concluded with Licinius, 249. His laws, 250. Chastises the Goths, 254. Second civil war with Licinius, 255.

tal of his empire, iii. 3. Declares his determination to fpring from divine command, 14. Defpoils other cities of their ornaments to decorate his new capital, 19. Ceremony of dedicating his new city, 29. Form of civil and military administration, established

nere,

there, 30. Separates the civil from the military administration, 57. Corrupted military discipline, 59. His character, 99. Account of his family, 104. His jealoufy of his fon Crifpus, 108. Mysterious deaths of Crifpus and Licinius, 111. His repentance and acts of atonement inquired into, 113. His fons and nephews, 115. Sends them to fuperintend the feveral provinces of the empire, 118. Affifts the Samaritans, and provokes the Goths, 123. Reduces the Goths to peace, 125. His death, 127. Attempts to afcertain the date of his conversion to Christianity, 239. His Pagan superstition, 242. Protects the Christians in Gaul, 243. Publishes the edict of Milan, 244. Motives which recommended the Christians to his favour, 247. Exhorts his subjects to embrace the Christian profession, 252. His famous standard the Labarum described, 257. His celebrated vision previous to his battle with Maxentius, 260. Story of the miraculous cross in the air, 265. His conversion accounted for, from natural and probable causes, 267. His theological discourses, 269. His devotion and privileges, 271. The delay of his baptism accounted for, 272. Is commemorated as a faint by the Greeks, 276. His edict against heretics, 307. Fayours the cause of Cacilian against Donatus, 311. His sensible. letter to the Bishop of Alexandria, 345. How prevailed on to ratify the Nicene creed, 347. His levity in religion, 349. Granted a toleration to his Pagan subjects, 405. His reform of Pagan abuses, ibid. Was affociated with the Heathen Deities after his death, by a decree of the fenate, 409. His discovery of the holy fepulchre, iv. 100.

Constantine, publication of his fictitious donation to the Bishops of Rome, ix. 159. Fabulous interdiction of marriage with strangers,

afcribed to him, x. 129.

Conflantine II. the fon of Conftantine the Great, is fent to prefide over Gaul, iii. 118. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, on the death of their father, 133. Invades his brother Constans, and is killed, 146.

Constantine III. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 10.

Constantine IV. Pogonatus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 15.
Constantine V. Copronymus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 26. Fates
of his five fons, 30. Revolt of Artavasdes, and troubles on account
of image worship, 128, 129. Abolishes the moukish order, 130.

Constantine VI. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 31.

Conflantine VII. Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of Conflantinople, ix. 57. His cautions against discovering the secret of the Greek fire, x. 17. Account of his works, 94. Their imperfections pointed out, 96. His account of the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, 127. Justifies the marriage of his son with the Princess Bertha of France, 130.

Constantine VIII. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 59. Constantine IX. Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 67.

Constantine X. Monomachus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 72.

Constantine XI. Ducas, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 77.

Constantine Palæologus, the last of the Greek emperors, his reign,

Constantine

Constantine Sylvanus, founder of the Paulicians, his death, x. 175. Constantine, a private soldier in Britain, elected emperor for the fake of his name, v. 229. He reduces Gaul and Spain, 231. 342. His reduction and death, 343.

Constantine, general under Belisarius in Italy, his death, vii. 247. Conflantinople, its fituation described, with the motives which induced Constantine the Great to make this city the capital of his empire, iii. 2. Its local advantages, 12. Its extent, 15. Progress of the work, 18. Principal edifices, 20. How furnished with inhabitants, 24. Privileges granted to it, 26. Its dedication, 28. Review of the new form of civil and military administration established there, 30. Is allotted to Constantine the Younger in the division of the empire, on the Emperor's death, 133. Violent contests there between the rival bishops, Paul and Macedonius, 392. Bloody engagement between the Athanasians and Arians on the removal of the body of Constantine, 395. Triumphant entry of the Emperor Julian, iv. 36. The fenate of, allowed the fame powers and honours as that at Rome, 54. Arrival of Valens, as Emperor of the East, 242. Revolt of Procopius, 245.

-, Continued the principal feat of the Arian herefy, during the reigns of Constantius and Valens, v. 17. Is purged from Arianism by the Emperor Theodosius, 22. Council of, 26. Is enriched by the bodies of faints and martyrs, 125. Infurrection against Gainas and his Arian Goths, 395. Perfecution of the Archbishop, St. Chrysostom, 404. Popular tumults on his account,

Earthquake there, vi. 53.

, the city and Eastern empire distracted by the factions of the circus, vii. 77. Foundation of the church of St. Sophia, 116. Other churches erected there by Justinian, 122. Triumph of Belifarius, over the Vandals, 194. The walls of, injured by an earthquake. State of the armies under the Emperor Maurice, 203. The armies and city revolt against him, 207. Deliverance of the city from the Persians and Avars, 243. Religious war about the Trifagion, 314.

-, Prospectus of the remaining history of the eastern empire, ix. 1. Summary review of the five dynasties of the Greek empire, 109. Tumults in the city to oppose the destruction of images, 128. Abolition of the monkish order by Constantine, 130. First fiege of, by the Saracens, x. 2. Second fiege by the Saracens, 8. Review of the provinces of the Greek empire in the tenth century, 99. Riches of the city of Constantinople, 112. The imperial place of, 114. Officers of state, 121. Military character of the The name and character of Romans supported to Greeks, 140. the last, 155. Decline and revival of literature, 156. The city menaced by the Turks, 214. Account of the Varangians, 222. Naval expeditions of the Russians against the city, 228.

-, Origin of the separation of the Greek and Latin churches, xi. 160. Maffacre of the Latins, 180. Invafion of the Greek empire, and conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders, 208. The city taken, and Isaac Angelus restored, 217. Part of the city burnt

by the Latins, 222. Second fiege of the city by the Latins, 226. Is pillaged, 231. Account of the statues destroyed, 238. Partition of the Greek empire by the French and Venetians, 243. The Greeks rise against their Latin conquerors, 258. The city retaken by the Greeks, 284. The suburb of Galata assigned to the Genoese, 390. Hostilities between the Genoese and the Emperor, 394. How the city escaped the Moguls, 428. Is besieged by the sultan Amurath II., xii. 56. Is compared with Rome, 141. Is besieged by Mahomet II. sultan of the Turks, 200. Is stormed and taken, 231. Becomes the capital of the Turkish empire, 243.

Constantius Chlorus, governor of Dalmatia, was intended to be adopted by the Emperor Carus, in the room of his vicious fon Carinus, ii. 100. Is affociated as Cæsar by Diocletian in his administration, 118. Assumes the title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 186. His death, 193. Granted a toleration to the

Christians, 479.

Constantius, the second son of Constantine the Great, his education, iii. 116. Is fent to govern the Eastern provinces of the empire, 118. Seizes Constantinople on the death of his father, 131. Confpires the death of his kinfmen, 133. Division of the empire among him and his brothers, ibid. Reftores Chofroes King of Armenia, Battle of Singara with Sapor, King of Persia, 140. Rejects the offers of Magnentius and Vetranio, on the plea of a vision, 152. His oration to the Illyrian troops at the interview with Vetranio, Defeats Magnentius at the battle of Mursa, 160. councils governed by eunuchs, 168. Education of his coufins Gallus and Julian, 171. Difgrace and death of Gallus, 179. Sends for Julian to court, 186. Invests him with the title of Cæsar, 188. Visits Rome, 101. Presents an obelisk to that city, 105. Quadian and Sarmatian wars, ibid. His Persian negotiation, 200. Mismanagement of affairs in the East, 211. Favours the Arians, 351. His religious character by Ammianus the historian, 352. His reftless endeavours to establish an uniformity of Christian doctrine, 354. Athanasius driven into exile by the council of Antioch, 364. Is intimidated by his brother Constans, and invites Athanafius back again, 368. His fevere treatment of those bishops who refused to concur in deposing Athanasius, 374. His scrupulous orthodoxy, 377. His cautious conduct in expelling Athanasius from Alexandria, 378. His strenuous efforts to seize his person, 382. Athanafius writes invectives to expose his character, 387. Is constrained to restore Liberius, Bishop of Rome, 391. Supports Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, and countenances his persecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 396, 397. His conduct towards his Pagan subjects, 407. Envies the fame of Julian, iv. 3. Recals the legions from Gaul, 4. Negotiations between him and Julian, 19. His preparations to oppose Julian, 32. His death and character, 34, 35.

Constantius, general, relieves the British Emperor Constantine when besieged in Arles, v. 343. His character and victories, 344. His

marriage with Placidia, and death, vi. 2.

Constantius, secretary to Attila King of the Huns, his matrimonial

negotiation at the court of Conftantinople, vi. 66.

Conful, the office of, explained, i. 103. Alterations this office underwent under the emperors, and when Constantinople became the feat of empire, iii. 35. The office of, suppressed by the Emperor Justinian, vii. 152. Is now sunk to a commercial agent, xii. 279.

Contracts, the Roman laws respecting, viii. 84.

Copts of Egypt, brief history of, viii. 360.

Corinth, reviving as a Roman colony, celebrates the Isthmian games, under the Emperor Julian, iv. 55. The Isthmus of, fortified by the Emperor Justinian, vii. 128.

Cornwall, reduction of, by the Saxons, vi. 388.

Coronary gold, nature of those offerings to the Roman emperors,

Corvinus, Matthias, King of Hungary, his character, xii. 167.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, account of his Christian topography, vii. 100, note. VIII. 343, note.

Cosmo of Medicis, his character, xii. 136.

Councils and Synods of

Antioch, iii. 364. Arles, iii. 371. Bafil, xii. 93.

Cæsarea, iii. 361.

Carthage, vi. 283. vii. 187. Chalcedon, v. 405. viii. 303.

Clermont, xi. 8. Conftance, xii. 86. 92. 375.

Constantinople, v. 26. viii. 327. 333. ix. 125. xi. 175.

Ephefus, viii. 288. 301. Ferrara, xii. 103. Florence, xii. 105. Frankfort, ix. 168.

Lyons, vi. 325. xi. 276. 334.

Milan, iii. 372.

Nice, iii. 332. ix. 164.

Pifa, xi. 92. Placentia, xi. 5. Rimini, iii. 343.

Sardica, iii. 366.

Toledo, vi. 300. 304. 378.

Tyre, iii. 361. Count, great difference between the ancient and modern application of

this title, iii. 58. By whom first invented, ibid. Of the sacred largesses under Constantine the Great, his office, 74. Of the domeltics in the Eastern empire, his office, 77.

Courtenay, history of the family of, xi. 204.

Crescentius, consul of Rome, his vicissitudes, and disgraceful death, ix. 203.

Crete, the isle of, subdued by the Saracens, x. 58. Is recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 86. Is purchased by the Venetians, xi. 249.

Crimes, how diftinguished by the penal laws of the Romans, viii. 98. Crispus, son of Constantine the Great, is declared Cafar, ii. 249. Distinguishes his valour against the Franks and Alemanni, 253. Forces the passage of the Hellespont, and defeats the fleet of Licinius, 260. His character, iii. 106. His mysterious death, 111.

Crifpus, the Patrician, marries the daughter of Phocas, and contributes to depose him, viii. 214. Is obliged to turn monk, 217.

Croatia, account of the kingdom of, x. 198. Cross, the different sentiments entertained of this instrument of punishment, by the Pagan and Christian Romans, iii. 256. The famous ftandard of, in the army of Constantine the Great, described, 258. His visions of, 260. 265. The holy sepulchre and cross of Christ discovered, iv. 101. The cross of Christ undiminished by distribution to pilgrims, 102.

Crown of thorns, its transfer from Constantinople to Paris, xi. 278. Crowns, mural and obfidional, the diffinction between, iv. 176. note.

Crusade, the first resolved on at the council of Clermont, xi. 10. Inquiry into the justice of the holy war, 12. Examination into the private motives of the crusaders, 20. Departure of the crusaders, 24. Account of the chiefs, 30. Their march to Constantinople, 41. Review of their numbers, 53. They take Nice, 59. Battle of Dorylæum, 60. They take Antioch, 64. Their distresses, 69. Are relieved by the discovery of the holy lance, 73. Siege and conquest of Jerusalem, 81. Godfrey of Bouillon chosen King of The crufaders ill Jerusalem, 86. The second crusade, 105. The third crusade, 140. treated by the Greek emperors, 109. Siege of Acre, 142. Fourth and fifth crufades, 153. Sixth crufade, 158. Seventh crufade, 163. Recapitulation of the fourth crufade, 197. General confequences of the crufades, 238.

Ciefiphon, the city of, plundered by the Romans, i. 334. Its fituationdescribed, iv. 178. Julian declines the siege of that city, 185.

facked by the Saracens, ix. 368.

Cublai, Emperor of China, his character, xi. 426.

Curopalata, his office under the Greek emperors, x. 121. Customs, duties of, imposed by Augustus, i. 261.

Cycle of indictions, the origin of, traced, and how now employed, iii. 83. note.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, his history and martyrdom, ii. 428. Cyprus, the kingdom of, bestowed on the House of Lusignan, by

Richard I. of England, xi. 183.

Cyrene, the Greek colonies there finally exterminated by Chofroes II. King of Persia, viii. 222.

Cyriades, an obscure fugitive, is set up by Sapor the Persian monarch,

as emperor of Rome, i. 437. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, his pompous relation of a miraculous appearance of a celeftial cross, iii. 351. His ambiguous character,

iv. 103.

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, his life and character, viii. 276. Condemns the history of Nestorius, 287. Procures the decision of the council of Ephefus against Nestorius, 289. His court intrigues, 294.

Cyzicus, how it escaped destruction from the Goths, i. 428. Is at length ruined by them, 429. The island and city of, seized by the usurper Procopius, iv. 247.

D

Dacia, conquest of, by the Emperor Trajan, i. 8. Its situation, 37. Is over-run by the Goths, 397. Is refigned to them by Aurelian, ii. 19.

Demons, supposed to be the authors and objects of Pagan idolatry, by

the primitive Christians, ii. 288.

Dagisteus, general of the Emperor Justinian, besieges Petra, vii. 331. Commands the Huns in Italy under Narses, 383.

Diambert, Archbishop of Pisa, installed Patriarch of Jerusalem, xi. 89. Dalmatia, described, i. 36. Produce of a filver mine there, 259. note.

Dalmatius, nephew of Constantine the Great, is created Cæsar, iii. 116, Is sent to govern the Gothic frontier, 118. Is cruelly destroyed

by Constantius, 132.

Damascus, siege of, by the Saracens, ix. 385. This city reduced both by storm and by treaty, 394. Remarks on Hughes's tragedy of this siege, 397. note. Taken and destroyed by Tamerlane, xii. 23.

Damascus, Bishop of Rome, edict of Valentinian addressed to him, to restrain the crafty avarice of the Roman clergy, iv. 271. His bloody contest with Ursinus for the episcopal dignity, 274.

Dames, the Arab, his gallant enterprize against the castle of Aleppo,

Damietta is taken by Louis IX. of France, xi. 160.

Damophilus, Archbishop of Constantinople, refigns his see, rather than subscribe the Nicene creed, v. 23.

Dandalo, Henry, Doge of Venice, his character, xi. 195. Is made despot of Romania, 248.

Daniel, first Bishop of Winchester, his instructions to St. Boniface, for the conversion of insidels, vi. 273.

Danielis, a Grecian matron, her prefents to the Emperor Basil, x. 108. Her visit to him at Constantinople, 117. Her testament, 118. Danube, course of the river, and the provinces of, described, i. 35.

Daphne, the facred grove and temple of, at Antioch, described, iv. 118. Is converted to Christian purposes by Gallus, and restored to the Pagans by Julian, 121, 122. The temple burned, 123.

Dara, the fortifications of, by Justinian, described, vii. 139. The demolition of, by the Persians, prevented by peace, 308. Is taken by Chofroes King of Persia, viii. 175.

Darius, his scheme for connecting the continents of Europe and Asia, iii. 6.

Darkness, præternatural, at the time of the passion, is unnoticed by the heathen philosophers and historians, ii. 379.

Dullagard, the Perfian royal feat of, plundered by the Emperor Herachies, viii. 250.

Datianus,

Datianus, governor of Spain, yields ready obedience to the Imperial

edicts against the Christians, ii. 478.

Datius, Bishop of Milan, instigates the revolt of the Ligurians to Justinian, vii. 242, 243. Escapes to Constantinople on the taking of Milan, by the Burgundians, 250. Debtors, infolvent, cruel punishment of, by the law of the twelve tables,

viii. 92. Decemvirs, review of the laws of the twelve tables, viii. 6. laws superfeded by the perpetual edict, 16. Severity of, 90.

Decius, his exaltation to the empire, i. 385. 324. Was a perfecutor

of the Christians, 452.

Decurions, in the Roman empire, are feverely treated by the Imperial laws, iii. 84.

Deification of the Roman emperors, how this species of idolatry was introduced, i. 111.

Delators, are encouraged by the Emperor Commodus, to gratify his hatred of the fenate, i. 141. Are suppressed by Pertinax, 162. Delphi, the facred ornaments of the temple of, removed to Constan-

tinople by Constantine the Great, iii. 22. note.

Democracy, a form of government unfavourable to freedom in a large state, i. 54.

Demosthenes, governor of Cæfarea, his gallant defence against, and heroic escape from Sapor King of Perlia, i. 439.

Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, humanely succours the captives brought from Rome by Genferic King of the Vandals, vi. 154.

Derar, the Saracen, his character, ix. 389.

Defiderius, the last King of the Lombards, conquered by Charlemagne, 1x. 150.

Despot, nature of that title in the Greek empire, x. 121.

Despotism originates in superstition, i. 362. note.

Diadem affumed by Diocletian, what, ii. 165. Diamonds, the art of cutting them, unknown to the ancients, i. 262.

note. Didius Julianus, purchases the imperial dignity at a public auction,

1. 172. Dioceses of the Roman empire, their number and government, iii. 49.

Diocletian, the manner of his military election to the empire, ii. 109. His birth and character, 112. Takes Maximian for his colleague. 115. Affociates as Cæfars, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, 118. His triumph in conjunction with Maximian, 156. Fixes his court at the city of Nicomedia, 159. Abdicates the empire. 170. Parallel between him and the Emperor Charles V., 171. Paffes his life in retirement at Salona, 174. His impartial behaviour towards the Christians, 458. Causes that produced the persecution of the Christians under his reign, 460.

Dion Caffius, the historian, screened from the fury of the foldiers, by

the Emperor Alexander Severus, i. 250.

Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, his outrageous behaviour at the fecond council of Ephefus, viii. 301. Is deposed by the council of Chalcedon, 306.

Difabul,

Difabul, great khan of the Turks, his reception of the ambaffadors of Jultinian, vii. 295.

Divorce, the liberty and abuse of, by the Roman laws, viii. 60. Limitations of, 63.

Docetes, their peculiar tenets, iii. 319. viii. 265. Derivation of their name, iii. 320. note:

Dominic, St. Loricatus, his fortitude in flagellation, xi. 17.

Dominus, when this epithet was applied to the Roman emperors, ii. 163. Domitian, Emperor, his treatment of his kinfmen Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clemens, ii. 415.

Domitian, the Oriental prefect, is fent by the Emperor Constantius to reform the state of the East, then oppressed by Gallus, iii. 176. Is

put to death there, 177.

Donatus, his contest with Czcilian for the fee of Carthage, iii. 309. History of the schism of the Donatists, 311. 398. Perfecution of the Donatists by the Emperor Honorius, vi. 16.

Dorylaum, battle of, between Sultan Soliman and the first crusaders, xi. 60.

Doxology, how introduced in the church-fervice, and how perverted,

iii. 388.

Dramatic representations at Rome, a character of, v. 285.

Dreams, the popular opinion, of the preternatural origin of, favourable to that of Conftantine previous to his battle with Maxentius, iii. 262.

Dromedary, extraordinary speed of this animal, ii. 42. note.

Dromones of the Greek empire, described, x. 137, 138.

Druids, their power in Gaul suppressed by the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, i. 52.

Druses of Mount Libanus, a character of, x. 380. note.

Duke, derivation of that title, and great change in the modern, from the ancient application of it, iii. 58.

Durazza, fiege of, by Robert Guifcard, x. 288. Battle of, between him and the Greek Emperor Alexius, 294.

F.

Earthquake, an extraordinary one over great part of the Roman empire, iv. 338. Account of those that happened in the reign of Justinian, vii. 417.

East India, the Roman commercial intercourse with that region, i. 88.

Commodities of, taxed by Alexander Severus, 262.

Ebionites, account of that fect, ii. 279.

A confutation of their errors, supposed, by the primitive fathers, to be a particular object in the writings of St. John the Evangelist, iii. 318.

Their ideas of the person of Jesus Christ, viii. 261.

Ecclesiastes, the book of, why not likely to be the production of King

Solomon, vii. 195. note.

Ecclefiastical and civil powers, diftinguished, by the fathers of the Christian church, iii. 282.

Ecclicius,

Erdicius, fon of the Emperor Avitus, his gallant conduct in Gaul, vi. 207.

Ethefis of the Emperor Heraclius, viii. 331.

Edda, of Iceland, the fystem of mythology in, i. 390.

Edecon, is fent from Atilla King of the Huns, as his ambassador to the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, vi. 68. Engages in a proposal to assassinate Attila, 80. His son Odoacer, the first Barbarian King

of Italy, 224.

Edessa, the purest dialect of the Syriac language spoken there, i. 335.
note. The property of the Christians there, consistented by the Emperor Julian, for the disorderly conduct of the Arians, iv. 129. Revolt of the Roman troops there, viii. 205. Account of the school of, 339. History of the famous image there, ix. 118. The city and principality of, seized by Baldwin the crusader, xi. 63. Is retaken by Zenghi, 122. The counts of, 295.

Edict of Milan, published by Constantine the Great, iii. 244.

Edies of the prætors of Rome, under the republic, their nature and tendency, viii. 13.

Edom, why that name was applied to the Roman empire by the Jews,

ii. 387. note.

Edrifites, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 80.

Edward I. of England, his crusade to the Holy Land, xi. 165.

Egidius, his character and revolt in Gaul, vi. 185. His son Sya-

grius, 312.

Egypt, general description of, i. 40. The superstitions of, with difficulty tolerated at Rome, 52. Amount of its revenues, 257. Public works executed there by Probus, ii. 89. Conduct of Dioclesian there, 134. Progress of Christianity there, 363.

-, Edict of the Emperor Valens, to restrain the number of recluse

monks there, iv. 270.

The worship of Serapis, how introduced there, iv. 108. His temple, and the Alexandrian library destroyed by Bishop Theophilus, 111, 112. Origin of monkish institutions in, vi. 241.

—, Great supplies of wheat furnished by, for the city of Constantinople, in the time of Justinian, vii. 89. Ecclesiastical history of,

viii. 360.

Reduced by the Saracens, v. 427. Capture of Alexandria, 435.

Administration of, 443. Description of, by Amrou, 445.

The Egyptians take Jerusalem from the Turks, xi. 77. Egypt conquered by the Turks, 125. Government of the Mamalukes there, 164.

Elagabalus, is declared Emperor by the troops at Emela, i. 229. Was

the first Roman who wore garments of pure filk, vii. 92.

Elephants, inquiry into the number of, brought into the field by the ancient princes of the East, i. 337. note. With what view introduced in the Circus at Rome in the first Punic war, ii. 103.

Eleufinian mysteries, why tolerated by the Emperor Valentinian, iv. 264.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, the political use she made of the national pulpits, iii. 331. note.

YOL, XII.

HH

Emigration

Emigration of the ancient northern nations, the nature and motives of, examined, i. 360.

Emperors of Rome, a review of their conflitutions, viii. 16. Their

legislative power, 18. Their rescripts, 19.

Of Germany, their limited powers, ix. 208. Of Conftantinople, their pomp and luxury, x. 113. Officers of the palace, state, and army, 121. Adoration of the Emperor, mode of, 124. Their public appearance, 126. Their despotic power, 134. Their navy, 136. They retain the name of Romans to the last, 155.

Empire, Roman, division of, into the East and West empires by Valentinian, iv. 242. Extinction of the western empire, vi. 224.

Encampment, Roman, described, i. 25.

Ennodius, the servile flatterer of Theodoric the Ostrogoth King of

Italy, is made Bishop of Pavia, vii. 16 note.

Epsgathus, leader of the mutinous prætorians, who murdered their præfect Ulpian, punished by the Emperor Alexander Severus, i. 250.

Ephesus, the famous temple of Diana at, destroyed by the Goths, i. 432. Council of, viii. 288. Episcopal riots there, 291.

Epicurus, his legacy to his philosophical disciples at Athens, vii. 146. Epirus, despots of, on the dismemberment of the Greek empire, xi. 255.

Equitius, mafter general of the Illyrian frontier, is defeated by the Sarmatians, iv. 330.

Erasmus, his merit as a reformer, x. 192.

Essenians, their distinguishing tenets and practices, ii. 362. Eucharist, a knotty subject to the first reformers, x. 189.

Eudes, Duke of Aquitain, repels the first Saracen invasion of France, x. 20. Implores the aid of Charles Martel, 24. Recovers his dukedom, 27.

Eudocia, her birth, character, and marriage with the Emperor Theodofius the Younger, v. 421. Her difgrace and death, 425.

Eudosia, her marriage with the Emperor Arcadius, iii. 148. Stimulates him to give up his favourite Eutropius, 390. Perfecutes St. Chryfoftom, 405. Her death and character, 411.

Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodofius the Younger, is betrothed to the young Emperor Valentinian III. of the West, vi. 7. Her character, 140. Is married to the Emperor Maximus, 149. Invites Genseric, King of the Vandals, to Italy, 150.

Eudoxus, Bishop of Constantinople, baptifes the Emperor Valens, iv. 265.

Eugenius, the rhetorician, is made Emperor of the West by Arbogastes the Frank, v. 78. Is defeated and killed by Theodosius, 84.

Eugenius IV., Pope, his contest with the council of Basil, xii. 93. Procures a re-union of the Latin and Greek churches, 111, 112. Forms a league against the Turks, 154. Revolt of the Roman citizens against him, 378.

Eumenius the orator, some account of, ii. 182. note.

Europius the fophift, his character of monks, and of the objects of their worship, v. 123, 124.

Eunomians,

Eunomians, punishment of, by the edict of the Emperor Theodosius against heretics, v. 33.

Eunuchs, enumerated in the lift of eastern commodities imported and taxed in the time of Alexander Severus, i. 262. They infelt the palace of the third Gordian, 307.

Their ascendency in the court of Constantius, iii. 168. Why they favoured the Arians, 350. note. Procure the banishment of

Liberius Bishop of Rome, 390, A conspiracy of, disappoint the schemes of Rusinus, and marry the Emperor Arcadius to Eudoxia, v. 147. They distract the court of the Emperor Honorius, 301. And govern that of Arcadius, 375. Scheme of Chrysaphius to assassinate Attila King of the Huns, vi. 80.

______, The Bishop of Seez and his whole chapter castrated, xii. 265.

Euric, King of the Visigoths in Gaul, his conquests in Spain, vi. 206. Is vested with all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps by Odoacer King of Italy, 308.

Europe, evidences that the climate of was much colder in ancient than in modern times, i. 346. This alteration accounted for, 347.

Final division of, between the western and eastern empires, v. 137. Is ravaged by Attila King of the Huns, vi. 52. Is now one great republic, 411.

Eusebia, Empress, wife of Constantius, her steady friendship to Julian, iii. 183. 185. Is accused of arts to deprive Julian of children,

Eusebius, his character of the followers of Artemon, ii. 373. His own character, 490. His story of the miraculous appearance of the cross in the sky to Constantine the Great, iii. 264, 265.

Eutropius the eunuch, great chamberlain to the Emperor Arcadius, concerts his marriage with Eudoxia, in opposition to the views of Rufinus, v. 147. Succeeds Rufinus in the Emperor's confidence, 160. His character and administration, 376. Provides for his own fecurity, in a new law against treason, 383. Takes sanctuary with St. Chrysostom, 391. His death, 393.

Eutyches, his opinion on the subject of the incarnation supported by the second council at Ephesus, viii. 300. And adhered to by the Armenians, 358.

Euxine Sea, description of the vessels used in navigating, i. 423. Exaltation of the cross, origin of the annual festival of, viii. 255.

Exarch, under the Greek empire, the office and rank of, ix. 153. Of Ravenna, the government of Italy fettled in, and administered by, vii. 398. viii. 145.

Excise duties imposed by Augustus, i. 262.

Excommunication from Christian communion, the origin of, ii. 348. iii. 298.

Exile, voluntary, under accusation and conscious guilt, its advantages among the Romans, viii. 107.

Faith and its operations defined, ii. 315.

Falcandus, Hugo, character of his Historia Sicula, x. 325. note. His lamentation on the transfer of the fovereignty of the island to the Emperor Henry VI., 326.

Fathers of the Christian church, cause of their austere morality,

Fausta, Empress, wife of Constantine the Great, causes of her being put to death, iii. 113.

Faustina, wife of Marcus Antoninus, her character, i. 135.

Faustina, the widow of the Emperor Constantius, countenances the revolt of Procopius against the Emperor Valens, iv. 247.

Festivals, Pagan, great offence taken at, by the primitive Christians, · Feudal government, the rudiments of, to be found among the Scy's

thians, iv. 354, 355. Figures, numeral, occasion of their first public and familiar use, x. 8. Finances of the Roman empire, when the feat of it was removed to Constantinople, reviewed, iii. 81.

Fingal, his questionable history, whether to be connected with the in-

vasion of Caledonia by the Emperor Severus, i. 209.

Fire, Greek, the Saracen fleet destroyed by, in the harbour of Constantinople, x. 11. Is long preserved as a secret, 17. Its effects not to be compared with gunpowder, 140.

Firmus, an Egyptian merchant, his revolt against the Emperor Aure-

lian, ii. 45.

Firmus the Moor, history of his revolt against the Emperor Valentinian, iv. 304.

Flagellation, its efficacy in penance, and how proportioned, xi. 18.

Flamens, Roman, their number, and peculiar office, v. 93. Flaminian way, its course described, vii. 384. note.

Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, is killed at the second council of Ephefus, viii. 302.

Fleece, golden, probable origin of the fable of, vii. 321.

Florence, the foundation of that city, v. 216. note. Is belieged by Radagaifus, and relieved by Stilicho, 217, 218.

Florentius, prætorian præfect of Gaul under Constantius, his character, iii. 233. iv. 7. Is condemned by the tribunal of Chalcedon, but fuffered to escape by Julian, 48.

Florianus, brother of the Emperor Tacitus, his eager usurpation of the Imperial dignity, ii. 70. Falix is confecrated Bishop of Rome, to superfede Liberius, who

was exiled, iii. 390. He is violently expelled, and his adherents

flaughtered, 302. Felix, an African Bishop, his martyrdom, ii. 473.

Fornication, a doubtful plea for divorce, by goipel authority, viii. 65.

France, modern, computation of the number of its inhabitants, and the average of their taxation, iii. 91.

Frances

France, the name of, whence derived, vi. 362. Derivation of the

French language, 372. note.

—, Childeric deposed, and Pepin appointed King, by papal fanction Reign and character of Charlemagne, 174. Invasion of, by the Saracens, x. 18.

Frangipani, Cenfio, his profane violation of the perfons of Pope Gelafius II. and his college of cardinals, xii. 267. Derivation of his

family name, 316.

Franks, their origin and confederacy, i. 412. They invade Gaul, and ravage Spain, 414, 415. They pass over into Africa, 415. Bold and successful return of a colony of, from the sea of Pontus, by sea,

, They over-run and establish themselves at Toxandria in Ger-

many, iii. 214.

-, Their fidelity to the Roman government, v. 223. Origin of the Merovingian race of their kings, vi. 98. How converted to Christianity, 272. Reign of their King Clovis, 310. Final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 339. Their laws, 343. Give of the French monarchy in Gaul, 339. the name of France to their conquests in Gaul, 362. They degenerate into a state of anarchy, 372.

-, They invade Italy, vii. 249. 393. Franks, their military character, x. 147.

Fravitta the Goth, his character, and deadly quarrel with his countryman Priulf, iv. 442. His operations against Gainas, v. 395. Frederic 1., Emperor of Germany, his tyranny in Italy, ix. 207. En-

gages in the third crusade, xi. 105. His disastrous expedition, 113. 141. Sacrifices Arnold of Brescia to the Pope, xii. 275. His reply to the Roman ambassadors, 293.

Frederic II. is driven out of Italy, ix. 208. His disputes with the Pope, and reluctant crusade, xi. 155. Exhorts the European princes

to unite in opposing the Tartars, 423.

Frederic III., the last Emperor crowned at Rome, xii. 379.

Freemen of Laconia, account of, x. 107.

Fritigern, the Gothic chief, extricates himself from the hands of Lupicinus, governor of Thrace, iv. 389. Defeats him, 390. Battle of Salices, 397. His strength recruited by the accession of new tribes, 399. Negotiates with Valens, 406. Battle of Hadria. nople, 408. The union of the Gothic tribes broken by his death,

Freedmen, among the Romans, their rank in fociety, viii. 50. Frumentius was the first Christian missionary in Abyssinia, iii. 279. Fulk of Neuilly, his ardour in preaching the fourth crufade, xi. 188.

Gabinius, King of the Quadi, is treacherously murdered by Marcellinus

governor of Valeria, iv. 238.

Gaillard, M., character of his Histoire de Charlemagne, ix. 175. note. Gainas the Goth is commissioned by Stillicho to excute his revenge on Rufinus, præfect of the East, v. 115. His conduct in the war H H 3 againit

against the revolter Tribigild, 389. Joins him, 393. His flight and death, 396.

Gala, probable derivation of the term, x. 126. note.

Galata, the suburb of, at Constantinople, assigned to the Genoese, xi. 300.

Galerius is affociated in the administration, as Cæsar, by the Emperor Diocletian, ii. 118. Is deseated by the Persians, 144. Surprises and overthrows Narses, 147. Assumes the title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 186. His jealousy of Constantine, 192. Deems it prudent to acknowledge him Cæsar, 195. His unsuccessful invasion of Italy, 202. Invests Licinius with the purple on the death of Severus, 208. His death, 212. From what causes he entertained an aversion to the Christians, 463. Obtains the countenance of Diocletian for persecuting them, 465. Publishes an edict of toleration just before his death, 484.

Galileans, two-fold application of that name in the infancy of Christianity, ii. 411. Why the Emperor Julian applied this name to the

Christians, iv. 109.

Gallienus, fon of the Emperor Valerian, is affociated by him in the Imperial throne, i. 411. Prohibits the fenators from exercifing military employments, 419. Character of his administration after the captivity of his father, 442. Names Claudius for his successor, ii. 4. Favoured the Christians, 453.

Gallies of the Greek empire described, x. 138.

Gallus elected Emperor, on the minority of Hostilianus, the fon of

Decius, i. 405.

Gallus, nephew of Constantine the Great, his education, iii. 171. Is invested with the title of Czesar, 172. His cruelty and imprudence, 173. His disgrace and death, 179. Embraced the doctrine, but neglected the precepts, of Christianity, iv. 66. Converts the grove of Daphne, at Antioch, to a Christian burial-place, 121.

Games, public, of the Romans, deferibed, i. 312. 415. v. 284. Ac-

count of the factions of the circus, vii. 75. Ganges, fource of that river, xii. 15. note.

Gaudentius, the notary, is condemned to death under the Emperor Ju-

lian, iv. 49.

Gaul, the province of, described, i. 31. The power of the Druids suppressed there by Tiberius and Claudius, 52. Cities in, 78. Amount of the tribute paid by that province to Rome, 257. Is desended against the Franks by Posthumus, 414. Succession of usurpers there, ii. 29. Invasion of, by the Lygians, 78. Revolt of the Bagaudæ suppressed by Maximian, 120. Progress of Christianity there, 367.

Proportion of the capitation-tax levied there by the Roman emperors, iii. 88. Is invaded by the Germans, 213. The government of, affigned to Julian, 215. His civil administration, 232. Is invaded by the Alemanni, under the Emperor Valentinian, iv. 277.

And under Gratian, 401.

Tours, v. 105. Is over-run by the barbarous troops of Radagaifus,

saifus, after his defeat by Stilicho, 224. Is fettled by the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, 359. Assembly of the seven provinces in, 369. Reign of Theodoric King of the Vifigoths in, vi. 93. Origin of the Merovingian race of the kings of the Franks in, 98. Invasion of, by Attila, King of the Huns, 107. Battle of Chalons, 112. Revolutions of, on the death of the Emperor Conversion of, to Christianty by the Franks, Majorian, 206. 295. Representation of the advantages it enjoyed under the Roman government, 305. Conquests and prosperity of Euric King of the Visigoths, 308. Character and reign of Clovis, 310. The Alemanni conquered, 317. Submission of the Armoricans, and the Roman troops, 322. Final establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, 339. History of the Salic laws, 343. The lands of, how claimed and divided by the Barbarian conquerors Domain and benefices of the Merovingian princes, of, 353. 356. Usurpations of the Seniors, 358. Privileges of Romans in, 369.

Gedrosia, revolutions of the sea-coast of, i. 330. note.

Gelalwan wra of the Turks, when fettled, x. 367.

Gelasius, Pope, his zeal against the celebration of the feast of Lupercalia, vi. 199. Deplores the miserable decay of Italy, 235.

Gelasius II., Pope, his rough treatment by Censio Frangipani, xii. 267.

Gelimer deposes Hilderic the Vandal King of Africa, and usurps the government, vii. 157. Is defeated by Belifarius, 176. His final defeat, 184. His distressful slight, 189. Surrenders himself to Belifarius, 192. Graces his triumph, 194. His peaceful retirement, 196.

General of the Roman army, his extensive power, i. 99.

Generofity, Arabian, striking instances of, ix. 242.

Gennadius, the monk, his denunciation against a Greek union with the Latin church, xii. 207.

Gennerid, the Roman general, under the Emperor Honorius, his character, v. 300.

Genoefe, their mercantile establishment in the suburb of Pera at Constantinople, xi. 390. Their war with the Emperor Cantacuzenus, 395.

Genferic, King of the Vandals in Spain, his character, vi. 13. Goes over to Africa on the invitation of Count Boniface, 14. His fuccesses there by the affistance of the Donatists, 18. Devastation of Africa by his troops, 20. Besieges Boniface in Hippo Regius, 21. His treacherous surprisal of Carthage, 28. Strengthens hunself by an alliance with Attila King of the Huns, 49. His brutal treatment of his son's wife, daughter of Theodoric, 97. Raises a naval force, and invades Italy, 147. His sack of Rome, 151. Destroys the sleet of Majorian, 181, 182. His naval depredations on Italy, 187. His claims on the eastern empire, 189. Destroys the Roman sleet under Basilicus, 203. Was an Arian, and persecuted his Catholic subjects, 280.

Gentleman, etymology of the term, xi. 36. note.

Geoponics of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, account of, x. 96.

George of Cappadocia fuperfedes Athanasius in the see of Alexandria, iii. 380. His scandalous history, and tragical death, iv. 125. Becomes the tutelar Saint of England, 129.

Gepidz, their incroachments on the Eastern empire checked by the

Lombards, vii. 273. Are reduced by them, viii. 121.

Germanus, nephew of the Emperor Justinian, his character and promotion to the command of the army fent to Italy, vii. 379. His

death, 380.

Germany, the rude inflitutions of that country, the original principles of European laws and manners, i. 344. Its ancient extent, 345. How peopled, 349. The natives unacquainted with letters in the time of Tacitus, 352. Had no cities, 354. Manners of the ancient Germans, 357. Population, 359. State of liberty among them, 361. Authority of their magnifrates, 364. Conjugal faith and chaftity, 367. Their religion, 370. Arms and discipline, 375. Their feuds, 380. General idea of the German tribes, 382. Probus carries the Roman arms into Germany, ii. 79. A frontier wall built by Probus, from the Rhine to the Danube, 81.

______, Invasions of Gaul by the Germans, iii. 213. iv. 277.
_______, State of, under the Emperor Charlemagne, ix. 183. The Imperial crown established in the name and nation of Germany, by the first Otho, 191. Division of, among independent princes, 208. Formation of the Germanic constitution, 211. State assumed by

the Emperor, 215.

Gerontius, Count, fets up Maximus as Emperor in Spain, and loses his

life in the attempt, v. 342, 343.

Gota and Caracalla, fons of the Emperor Severus, their fixed antipathy to each other, i. 206.

Ghebers of Persia, history of, v. 383.

Gibraltar, derivation of the name of, v. 368.

Gildo the Moor, his revolt in Africa, v. 162. His defeat and death,

171.

Gladiators, desperate enterprise and fate of a party of, reserved for the triumph of Probus, ii. \$8. The combats of, abolished by the Emperor Honorius, v. 205.

Glycerius is first Emperor of Rome, and then Bishop of Salona, vi. 219, 220. Murders Julius Nepos, and is made Archbishop of

Milan, 221.

Gnostics, character and account of the sect of, ii. 282. Principal sects into which they divided, 286. Their peculiar tenets, iii. 319.

Godfrey of Bouillon, his character, and engagement in the first crusade, xi. 30. His route to Constantinople, 41. 46. Is elected King of Jerusalem, 86. Compiles the Assize of Jerusalem, 93. Form of his administration, 95.

Gor and Magog, the famous rampart of, described, vii. 142.

Goifointha, wife of Leovigild, King of Spain, her pious cruelty to the Princels Ingundis, vi. 296.

Gold

Gold of affliction, the tax fo denominated in the Eastern empire, abolished by the Emperor Anastatius, vii. 101.

Golden horn, why the Bosphorus obtained this appellation in remote

antiquity, iii. 7.

Gordianus, proconful of Africa, his character and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 282. His fon affociated with him in the Imperial dignity, 284.

Gardian, the third and youngest, declared Cæsar, i. 294. Is declared Emperor by the army, on the murder of Maximus and Balbinus,

306.

Goths of Scandinavia, their origin, i. 387. Their religion, 389. The Goths and Vandals supposed to be originally one great people, 392. Their emigrations to Prussia and the Ukraine, 393. They invade the Roman provinces, 397. They receive tribute from the Romans, 406. They subdue the Bosphorus, 423. Plunder the cities of Bithynia, 426. They ravage Greece, 430. Conclude a treaty with the Emperor Aurelian, ii. 18. They ravage Illyricum, and are chassisfed by Constantine the

Great, 254.

Conftantine, 124. Gothic war under the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, iv. 322. Are defeated by the Huns, 374. They implore the protection of the Emperor Valens, 379. They are received into the empire, 382. They are oppressed by the Roman governors of Thrace, 385. Are provoked to hostilities, and defeat Lupicinus, 390. They ravage Thrace, 391. Battle of Salices, 397. They are strengthened by fresh swarms of their countrymen, 398. Battle of Hadrianople, 408. Scour the country from Hadrianople to Constantinople, 414. Massacre of the Gothic youth in Asia, 418. Their formidable union broken by the death of Fritigern, 431. Death and suneral of Athanaric, 432. Invasion and defeat of the Ostrogoths, 435. Are settled in Thrace, by Theodosius, 438. Their hostile sentiments, 440.

, Revolt of, under Honorius, v. 176. They ravage Greece, under the command of Alaric, 179. They invade Italy, 190. The fack of Rome by, 310. Death of Alaric, 329. Victories of Wallia in Spain, 357. They are fettled in Aquitain, 358. See Gaul, and Theodoric. Conquest of the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, vi. 206. How the Goths were converted to the Christian religion,

268. 299.

-, Reign of Theodoric King of the Oftrogoths, vii. 2. The Goths in Italy, extinguished, 399.

Government, civil, the origin of, i. 362.

Governors of provinces, under the emperors, their great power and

influence, iii. 56.

Gratian was the first Emperor who refused the pontifical robe, iii. 409.

note. Marries the Princess Constantia, and succeeds to the empire, iv. 335. Defeats the Alemanni in Gaul, 402. Invests Theodosius with the empire of the East, 420.

His character and conduct, v. 1. His flight from Maximus,

and death, 8. Overthrew the ecclefiaftical establishment of Paganism, 95.

Greece, is ravaged by the Goths, i. 430. Is over-run by Alaric, the Goth, v. 179. Is reduced by the Turks, xii. 249.

Greek church, origin of the schism of, xi. 169. xii. 111. 145.

Greek empire. See Gonstantinople.

Greeks, why averse to the Roman language and manners, i. 161. The Greek becomes a scientific language among the Romans, 63. Character of the Greek language of Constantinople, xii. 115. When first taught in Italy, 126.

Greek learning, revival of, in Italy, xii. 119.

Gregory the Great, Pope, his pious presents to Recared King of Spain, vi. 301. Exhorts Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith, ibid. His enmity to the venerable buildings and learning of Rome, viii. 160. His birth and early profession, 162. His elevation to the pontificate, 164. Sends a mission to convert the Britons, 167. Sanctifies the usurpation of the Emperor Phocas, 211.

Gregory II., Pope, his epiftles to Leo III. Emperor of Constantinople,

ix. 134. Revolts against the Greek Emperor, 138.

Gregory VII., Pope, his ambitious fchemes, ix. 199. His contest with the Emperor Henry III., x. 301. His retreat to Salerno, 304. xii. 266.

Gregory, præfect of Africa, history of him and his daughter, ix. 450,

451.

Gregory Nazianzen, his lamentation on the difgraceful difcord among Christians, iii. 403. Loads the memory of the Emperor Julian with invective, iv. 63. Censures Constantius for having spared his life, 79. note.

, Is presented to the wretched see of Sasima, by his friend Archbishop Basil, v. 19, 20. His mission to Constantinople, 20. Is placed on the archiepiscopal throne by Theodosius, 24. His refignation and character, 30.

Grumbater, King of the Chionites, attends Sapor King of Persia, in his invasion of Mesopotamia, iii. 204. Loses his son at the siege of

Amida, 205. Returns home in grief, 209.

Guardian bip, how vefted and exercised, according to the Roman civil laws, viii. 68.

Gubazes, King of Cholchos, his alliance with Chofroes King of Perfia, vii. 330. Returns to his former connexion with the Emperor Juftinian, 331. Is treacherously killed, 336.

Guelphs and Ghibelines, the parties of, in Italy, ix. 208. xii. 322. Guilt, the degrees of, in the penal laws of the Romans, viii. 98.

Guiscard, Robert, his birth and character, x. 270. Acquires the Dukedom of Apulia, 274. His Italian conquests, 277. Besieges Durazzo, 287. Deseats the Greek Emperor Alexius there, 294, 295. Engages in the cause of Pope Gregory VII., 302. His second expedition to Greece, and death, 304.

Gundobald, King of the Burgundians, is reduced by Clovis King of the Frances, vi. 326. His mode of justifying the judicial combat, 352.

Gun

Gunpowder, the invention and use of, xii. 62.

Guy of Lufignan, King of Jerusalem, his character, xi. 134. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Saladin, 135.

Gyarus, a small island in the Ægean sea, an instance of its poverty, i. 259.

H

Hadrian, Emperor, relinquishes the eastern conquests of Trajan, i. 11. Their characters compared, 12. His character contrasted with that of Antoninus Pius, ibid. His several adoptions of successors, 121. Founds the city of Ælia Capitolina on Mount Sion, ii. 278.

, Reforms the laws of Rome in the perpetual edict, viii. 15. Hadrianople, battle of, between Conftantine the Great and Licinius, i. 258. Is ineffectually befieged by Fritigern the Goth, iv. 393. Battle of, between the Emperor Valens and the Goths, 408.

Hakem, caliph of the Saracens, assumes a divine character to supplant the Mahometan faith, x. 379.

Hamadanites, the Saracen dynasty of, in Mesopotamia, x. 82.

Hannibal, review of the state of Rome when he besieged that city, v. 255.

Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine the Great, is dignified with the title of King, iii. 116. Provinces affigued to him for a kingdom, 118. Is cruelly destroyed by Constantius, 132.

Happiness, instance how little it depends on power and magnificence,

Harmozan, the Persian satrap, his interview with the caliph Omar, ix. 374.

Harpies, an ancient mythologic history, Le Clerc's conjecture concerning, iii. 5. note.

Harun al Rashid, caliph, his friendly correspondence with the Emperor Charlemagne, ix. 186. His wars with the Greek empire, x. 52.

Haffan, the Saracen, conquers Carthage, ix. 461.

Hawking, the art and fport of, introduced into Italy by the Lombards, viii. 152.

Hegira, the æra, how fixed, ix. 280.

Helena, the mother of Constantine, her parentage ascertained, ii. 190. Was converted to Christianity by her son, iii. 242. note.

Helena, fifter of the Emperor Constantius, married to Julian, iii. 186. Is reported to be deprived of children by the arts of the Empress Eusebia, 190. Her death, iv. 19.

Heliopolis taken by the Saracens, ix. 405.

Hell, according to Mahomet, described, ix. 280.

Hellespont described, iii. 9.

Helwetia, amount of its population in the time of Cæsar, i. 359: note. Hengist, his arrival in Britain, with succours for Vortigern, against the Caledonians, vi. 382. His establishment in Kent, 383, 387.

Henoticon

Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, character of, viii. 311.

Henry fucceeds his brother Baldwin as Emperor of Constantinople, xi. 263. His character and administration, 265.

Henry III., Emperor, his contest with Pope Gregory VII., x. 301. Takes Rome, and sets up Pope Clement III., 302.

Henry VI., Emperor, conquers and pillages the island of Sicily,

Henry the Fowler, Emperor of Germany, defeats the Turkish invaders, x. 215.

Heptarchy, Saxon, establishment of, in Britain, vi. 384. Review of the state of, 305.

Heraclian, Count of Africa, retains that province in obedience to Honorius, v. 308. His cruel usage of the refugees from the sack of Rome, by Alaric, 321. His revolt and death, 339, 340.

Heracleonas, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 10.

Heraclius, depofes the eastern usurper Phocas, and is chosen Emperor, viii. 216. Conquests of Chosroes II. King of Persia, 219. His distressful situation, 227. Accepts an ignominious peace from Chosroes, 230. His first expedition against the Persians, 233. His second Persian expedition, 236. Strengthens himself by an alliance with the Turks, 246. His third Persian expedition, 248. His treaty of peace with Persia, 255. His triumph and pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 256. His theological enquiries, 330.

Heraclius marries his niece Martina, ix. 9. Leaves his two fons joint fuccessors to the empire, 10. Invasion of his provinces by the

Saracens, 388. Flies from Syria, 420.

Heraclius the præfect, his expedition against the Vandals in Africa, vi. 199.

Heraclius the eunuch, infligates the Emperor Valentinian III. to the murder of the patrician Ætius, vi. 138. His death, 141.

Herbelot, character of his Bibliotheque Orientale, ix. 363. note. Hercynian forest, the extent of, unknown in the time of Cæsar, i. 347.

note. Heresy in religion, the origin of, traced, ii. 284. Edict of Constan-

tine the Great, against, iii. 307.

Hermanric King of the Ostrogoths, his conquests, iv. 319. His death,

Hermenegild Prince of Bœtica, his marriage with Ingundis Princess of Austrasia, and conversion to the Nicene faith, vi. 297. Revolt and death, 298.

Hermits of the East, their mortified course of life, vi. 264. Miracles

performed by them and their relics, 266.

Hermodorus, the Ephesian, assists the Romans in compiling their twelve tables of laws, viii. 6.

Hermogenes, master general of the cavalry, is killed in the attempt to

banish Paul Bishop of Constantinople, iii. 294.

Hero and Leander, the story of, by whom controverted and defended,

iii. 9. note.

Herodian, his life of Alexander Severus, why preferable to that in the Augustan history, i. 254. note.

Herodes

Herodes Atticus, his extraordinary fortune and munificence, i. 72. Herodotus, his character of the Persian worship, i. 322. Heruli, of Germany and Poland, their character, vii. 21.

Hilarion, the monk of Palestine, account of, vi. 244.

Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, his remarkable observations on the diversity of Christian doctrines, iii. 338. His exposition of the term Homoiousion, 241.

Hilary, Pope, censures the Emperor Anthemius for his tolerating

principles, vi. 106.

Hilderic the Vandal King of Africa, his indulgence to his Catholic fubjects displeases both the Arians and Athanasians, vii. 156, 157. Is deposed by Gelimer, 157. Is put to death, 177.

Hindoos of the East, not the disciples of Zoroaster, ix. 492. note.

Hindostan, conquest of, by Tamerlane, xii. 13.

Hippo Regius, fiege of, by Genferic King of the Vandals, vi. 12.

History, the principal subjects of, i. 383.

Holy war, the justice of it enquired into, xi. 12. Homicide, how commuted by the Salic laws, vi. 346.

Homoouhion, origin, and use of that term at the council of Nice, iii. 333...

And Homoiouhion, the diffunction between, 341.

Honain, war of, ix. 309.

Honoratus, Archbishop of Milan, is, with his clergy, driven from his. see, by the Lombards, viii. 127.

Honoria, Princess, fister of the Emperor Valentinian III., her history,

vi. 102.

Honorius, fon of Theodosius the Great, is declared Emperor of the West, by his dying father, v. 86. Marries Maria, the Gaughter of Stilicho, 172, 173. His character, 174. Flies from Milan on the invasion of Italy by Alaric, 196. His triamphant entry, into Rome, 204. Abolishes the combats of Gladiators, 207. Fixes his residence at Ravenna, 210. Orders the death of Stilicho, 242. His impolitic measures and cruelty unite his Barbarian soldiers against him under Alaric, 252. His councils distracted by the eunuchs, 301. His abject overtures to Attalus and Alaric, 307. His last acts, and death, 340. His triumph for the reduction of Spain by Wallia the Goth, 258. Is suspected of incest with his sister Placidia, vi. 2, 3. His persecution of the Donatists in Africa, 16.

Honour, the new ranks of, introduced in the city of Constantinople.

iii. 34. X. 119.

Hormifdas, a fugitive Persian Prince, in the court of the Emperor Constantius, his remarks on the city of Rome, iii. 194. note. His history, and station under Julian, iv. 162.

Hormouz, the fon of Chofroes, King of Persia, his accession, viii. 178. His character, 179. Is deposed, and at length killed, 184—186.

Horfes of Arabia, their peculiar qualities, ix. 224. Hofein, the fon of Ali, his tragical death, ix. 343.

Hospitallers, Knights, of St. John of Jerusalem, popularity and character of the order of, xi. 92.

Hostilianus,

Hostilianus, the minor fon of the Emperor Decius, elected Emperor, under the guardianship of Gallus, i. 405.

Hugh, King of Burgundy, his marriage with Marozia, and expulsion

from Rome by Alberic, ix. 201.

Hugh, Count of Vermandois, engages in the first crusade, xi. 32. Is shipwr-cked, and made captive by the Greek Emperor Alexis Comnenus, 45. His return, 72.

Human nature, its natural propenfities, ii. 320.

Hume, Mr., his natural history of religion, the best commentary on the polytheifm of the ancients, i. 46. note. His difficulty, as to the extent of the Imperial palace at Rome, refolved, 212. note. Charges the most refined and philosophic fects with intolerancy, 328. note.

Hungary, establishment of the Huns in, vi. 38. State of, under the E nperor Charlemagne, ix. 184. Terror excited by their first ap-

proach to Europe, x. 203. Their character, 209.

Huniades, John, his exploits against the Turks, xii. 157. fence of Belgrade, and death, 167.

Hanneric, the fon of Genferic, King of the Vandals, perfecutes his Catholic subjects, vi. 280. His cruelty to the Catholics of Tipaia, 293.

Huns, their original feat, and their conquests, iv. 359. Their decline, 364. Their emigrations, 367. Their victories over the

Goths, 374. 377

Huns, they drive other barbarous tribes before them, upon the Roman provinces, v. 212. Their eftablishment in Hungary, vi. 38. Character of their King Attila, 41. Their invafion of Perfia, 47. The empire of, extinguished by the death of Attila, 135.

Hunting of wild beafts, when a virtue, and when a vice, i. 151. Is

the school of war, iv. 350.

Hypatia, the female philosopher, murdered in the church at Alexandria, viii. 281.

Hypatius, fedition of, at Constantinople, 85.

I and J

Jacobites of the East, history of the fect of, viii. 350. James, St., his legendary exploits in Spain, ii. 368. Janizaries, first institution of those troops, xi. 446.

Iberian and Caspian gates of Mount Caucasus, distinguished, vii. 140. The Iberian gates occupied by Cabades King of Persia, 141.

Idatius, his account of the misfortunes of Spain by an irruption of the barbarous nations, v. 352.

Idolatry ascribed to the agency of dæmons, by the primitive Christians, ii. 288. Derivation of the term, and its fuccessive applications, iii. 410. note.

Jerom, his extravagant representation of the devastation of Pannonia by the Goths, iv. 417. His influence over the widow Paula VI. 248.

Jerufalem,

Jerufalem, its fituation, destruction, and profanation, iv. 99. Pil-grimages to, and curious relics preserved there, 100. Abortive at-

tempts of the Emperor Julian to rebuild the temple, 103.

by Justinian, vii. 123. The vessels of the temple brought from Africa to Constantinople by Belisarius, 194. Is conquered by Chosroes II. King of Persia, viii. 220. Insurrection of the monks there, 310.

The city conquered by the Saracens, ix. 411. Great refort

of pilgrims to, x. 376. Conquests of, by the Turks, 383.

by the crufaders, 84. Is crected into a kingdom under Godfrey of Bouillon, 87. Succession of its Christian princes, 134. Is pillaged by the Carizmians, 158.

Jerufalem, New, described according to the ideas of the primitive

Christians, ii. 302.

Jesuits, Portuguese, persecute the eastern Christians, viii. 348. Their

labours in, and expulsion from Abyssinia, 373.

Jews, an obscure, unsocial, obstinate race of men, ii. 268. Review of their history, 270. Their religion the basis of Christianity, 274. The promises of divine favour extended by Christianity to all mankind, 274. The immortality of the soul not inculcated in the law of Moses, 299. Why there are no Hebrew gospels extant, 357. Provoked the perfecutions of the Roman emperors, 384.

Jews, those of a more liberal spirit adopted the theological system of Plato, iii. 316. Their condition under the Emperors Constantine and Constantius, iv. 97. Abortive attempt of Julian to rebuild the

temple of Jerusalem, 103.

, Miraculous conversion of a number of, at Minorca, v. 132. note.

Perfecution of, in Spain, vi. 302.

-, Are perfected by the Catholics in Italy, vii. 40. And by Cyril at Alexandria, viii. 279. How plagued by the Emperor Justinian, 322.

____, Those in Arabia subdued by Mahomet, ix. 302. Affist the Sa-

racens in the reduction of Spain, ix. 476.

-, Massacres of, by the first crusaders, xi. 25, 26.

Jezdegerd, King of Persia, is said to be left guardian to Theodosius the Younger, by the Emperor Arcadius, v. 413. His war with Theodosius, 426.

Igilium, the small island of, serves as a place of refuge for Romans who

flew from the fack of Rome by Alaric, v. 320.

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, the Christian fortitude displayed in his epistles, ii. 437.

Iksbidites, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 82.

Illustrious, the title of, how limited in the times of Roman simplicity, and how extended when Constantinople became the feat of empire, iii. 34.

Illyricum described, i. 35.

Images, introduction of, into the Christian Church, ix. 113. The worship of, derived from Paganism, 115. Are condemned by the

council of Conftantinople 126. The adoration of, justified by Pope Gregory II., 134. And fanctified by the second council of Nice, 105.

Imperator, in the Roman history, explained, i. 99. note. The Imperial prerogatives, 106. The court, 110. The fense of this appel-

lation altered by long use, ii. 163.

Incarnation, theological history of the doctrine of, viii. 261.

Incest, natural, and arbitrary, distinguished, viii. 66.

India, account of the Christians of St. Thomas in, viii. 346. Perfecution of, by the Portuguese, 347.

Indictions, the memorable æra of, whence dated, ii. 229. note. The name and use of, in the middle ages, whence derived, iii. 83.

Indulgencies, in the Romish church, the nature of, explained,

xi. 16, 17.

Ingundis, Princess of Austrasia, is married to Hermenegild Prince of Bætica, and cruelly treated by his mother Goisvintha, vi. 297.

Inheritance, paternal, subject to parental discretion among the Romans, i. 264. The Roman law of, viii. 74. Testamentary dispositions of property, 77. The Voconian law, how evaded, 81.

Injuries, review of the Roman laws for the redress of, viii. 87.

Innocent III., Pope, enjoyed the plentitude of papal power, xi. 152.

Inquisition, the first erection of that tribunal, xi. 152.

Institutes of Justinian, an analysis of, viii. 47.

Interest of money, how regulated by the Roman law, viii. 86.

Joan, Pope, the story of, fictitious, ix. 197. note.

John, principal fecretary to the Emperor Honorius, usurps the empire after his death, vi. 4.

John, the almsgiver, Archbishop of Alexandria, relieves the Jewish refugees when Jerusalem was taken by the Persians, viii. 221. His extraordinary liberality of the church treasure, 363.

John, Bishop of Antioch, arrives at Ephesus after the meeting of the council, and, with his bishops, decides against Cyril, viii. 291.

Coalition between him and Cyril, 293.

John, of Apri, patriarch of Constantinople, his pride and confederacy against John Cantacuzene, xi. 375.

John, of Brienne, Emperor of Constantinople, xi. 273.

John of Cappadocia, prætorian præfect of the East, under the Emperor Justinian, his character, vii. 109. Is disgraced by the Empress Theodora, and becomes a Bishop, 110. Opposes the African war, 159. His fraud in supplying the army with bread, 169.

John Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 86. John Damascenus, St., his history, ix. 129. note.

John of Lycopolis, the hermit, his character, and oracular promife to the Emperor Theodofius the Great, v. 79.

John, the Monophysite Bishop of Asia, is employed by the Emperor Justinian to root out pagans and heretics, viii. 321.

John XII., Pope, his flagitious character, ix. 198.

John XXIII., Pope, his profligate character, xii. 375.

John, St., the Evangelist, reveals the true fense of Plato's doctrine of the Loger, in 318.

1

John

John the Sanguinary feizes the Gothic treasures in Picenum, and obliges Vitiges to raise the fiege of Rome, vii. 244.

John Zimisces, murders the Greek Emperor Nicephorus, and succeeds him, ix. 65. His Eastern victories, x. 88. Defeats Swatoslaus, Czar of Russia, 236.

Jona, one of the Hebride islands, its ancient monastic eminence,

vi. 246.

Jonas, renegado of Damascus, story of, ix. 397.

Jordan, character of his work, De Originibus Sclavicis, x. 197. note. Joseph the Carizmian, governor of Berzem, kills the Sultan Alp Arslan, x. 362.

Josephus, the mention of Jesus Christ in his history, a forgery, ii. 408. note. His opinion that Plato derived knowledge from the Jews,

controverted, iii. 314. nate.

Jovian is elected Emperor by the troops of Julian, on their retreat from Affyria, iv. 205. His treaty with Sapor King of Perfia, 209. His death, 233.

Jovians and Herculians, new bodies of guards instituted to superfede

the prætorian bands, ii. 161.

Jovinian of Verona, his punishment by a Roman fynod, for herefy, v. 191.

Jovinus reduces the Alemanni, who had invaded Gaul, iv. 279, 280.

Account of his revolt against the Emperor Honorius in Ger-

many, v. 347.

Jovius, Prætorian præfect under the Emperor Honorius, fucceeds Olympius as his confidential minister, v. 299. His negotiations with Alaric obstructed, 301. Deferts Honorius, and goes over to Alaric, and the new Emperor Attalus, 307.

Irene, her marriage with the Greek Emperor Leo, ix. 31. Her ambition, and barbarity to her fon Conftantine, 32. Reftores images to

public devotion, 164.

Ireland was first colonised from Scotland, iv. 294. Derivation of the name of its tutelar saint, Patrick, vi. 229. note.

Ifaac I., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 74.

Ifaac II., Angelus, Emperor of Conftantinople, ix. 108. His character and reign, xi. 181. Is deposed by his brother Alexius, 185. Is restored by the crusaders, 217. His death, 225.

Isaac, Archbishop of Armenia, his apology for the vices of King Arta-

fires, v. 430.

Ifauria, the rebellion there against the Emperor Galienus, i. 454. Ifaurians, reduction of, by the Eastern emperors, vii. 130.

Indore, Cardinal, his ill treatment in Ruffia, xii. 148. Receives an act of union from the Greek clergy at Constantinople, 206.

Isocrates, his price for the tuition of his pupils, vii. 146.

Italy, the dominion of, under Odoacer, succeeds the extinction of the western empire, vi. 224. Its miserable state at this æra, 234. Conversion of the Lombards of to the Nicene faith, 201.

Conversion of the Lombards of, to the Nicene faith, 301.

is reduced by Theodoric the Offrogoth, vii. 15. His

nistration, 17. Government of, according to the Roman law, by Theodoric, 26. Its sourishing state at this time, 33. How vol. XII.

fupplied with filk from China, 91. History of Amalasontha, Queen of Italy, 206. Invasion of, by Belisarius, 217. Siege of Rome by the Goths, 224. Invasion of Italy, by the Franks, 249. Revolt of the Goths, 353. Expedition of the eunuch Narses, 381. Invasion of, by the Franks and Alemanni, 393. Government of, under the exarchs of Ravenna, 398. Conquests of Albion King of the Lombards in, viii. 126. Distress of, 142. How divided between the Lombards and the exarchs of Ravenna, 145.

Italy, growth of the papal power in, ix. 131. Revolt of, against the Greek emperors, 138. The exarchate of Ravenna granted to the pope, 156. Extent of the dominions of Charlemagne there, 182. The power of the German Cæsars destroyed by the rise of the commercial cities there, 204. Factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins, 208. Conslict of the Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in, x. 247.

Italy, revival of Greek learning in, xii. 119. Authors confulted for the history of, 394. note.

Jubilee, popish, a revival of the secular games, i. 312 note. xii. 310. The return of, accelerated, 312.

Jude, St., examination of his grandsons before the tribunal of the procurator of Judæa, ii. 414.

Judgments of God, in the Salic laws, how determined, vi. 349. Judgments, popular, of the Romans, difplayed, viii. 104.

Julia Domna, wife of the Emperor Severus, her character, i. 205. Her death, 228.

Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great, his education, iii. 171. His dangerous fituation on the death of his brother Gallus, 181. Is fent to Athens, where he cultivates philosophy, 183. Is recalled by Constantius, 186. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 188. Is appointed to the government of Gaul, 215. His first campaign, 217. Battle of Strafburg, 222. Reduces the Franks at Toxandria, 226. His three expeditions beyond the Rhine, 228. Restores the cities of Gaul, 230. His civil administration, 232. His account of the theological calamities of the empire under Constantius, 398. Constantius grows jealous of him, iv. 3. The Gaulish legions are ordered into the East, 4. Is faluted Emperor by the troops, 11. His embaffy and epiftle to Conftantius, 15. His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, 17. Declares war against Constantius, and abjures the Christian religion, 22. His march from the Rhine into Illyricum, 25. Enters Sirmium, 28. Publishes apologies for his conduct, 29. His triumphant entry into Constantinople on the death of Constantius, 36. His private life and civil government, 37. His reformations in the Imperial palace, 41. Becomes a floven to avoid foppery, 45. Erects a tribunal for the trial of the evil ministers of Constantius, 46. Dismisses the spies and informers employed by his predeceffors, 50. His love of freedom and the republic, 52. His kindnesses to the Grecian cities, 55. His abilities as an orator, 58. And as a judge, 59. His character, ibid. His apostacy accounted for, 64. Adopts the Pagan mythology, 67. His theological system, 72. His initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, and his fanaticism, 75. His hypocritical duplicity, 78.

Writes a vindication of his apostacy, 81. His edict for a general toleration, 83, 84. His Pagan superstitious zeal, 85. His circular letters for the reformation of the Pagan religion, 88. His industry in gaining profelytes, 94. His address to the Jews, 97. History of his attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, 103. Transfers the revenues of the Christian church to the Heathen priests, 110. Prophibits Christian schools, 111. Obliges the Christians to reinstate the Pagan temples, 115. Restores the facred grove and temple of Daphne, 121. Punishes the Christians of Antioch for burning that temple, 123. His treatment of the cities of Edessa and Alexandria, Banishes Athanasius, 133. The philosophical fable of his Cafars, delineated, 139. Meditates the conquest of Persia, 143. Popular discontents during his residence at Antioch, 146. Occasion of writing his Misopogon, 150. His march to the Euphrates, 154. He enters the Persian territories, 161. Invades Assyria, 169. His personal conduct in this enterprise, 174. His address to his discontented troops, 176. His fuccessful passage over the Tigris, 180. Burns his sleet, 183. His retreat and distress, 193. His death, 202. His funeral, 223.

Julian, Count, offers to betray Spain into the hands of the Arabs,

ix. 467. His advice to the victorious Turks, 475.

Julian, the papal legate, exhorts Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Poland, to breach of faith with the Turks, xii. 159. His death and character, 165.

Julius, mafter-general of the troops in the Eaftern empire, concerts a general maffacre of the Gothic youth in Afia, iv. 419.

Jurisprudence, Roman, a review of, viii. 1. Was polished by Grecian

philosophy, 26. Abuses of, 109. Justin the Elder, his military promotion, vii. 54. His elevation to

the empire, and character, 56. His death, 61.

Justin II.; Emperor, fucceeds his uncle Justinian, viii. 113. His firm behaviour to the ambassadors of the Avars, 116. His abdication, and investiture of Tiberius, as his successor, 135.

Justin Martyr, his decision in the case of the Ebionites, ii. 280. His extravagant account of the progress of Christianity, 369. Occasion

of his own conversion, 372.

Justina, the popular story of her marriage with the Emperor Valentinian examined, iv. 334. Her infant fon Valentinian II. invested with the Imperial ensigns, on the death of his father, 336. Her contest with Ambrose Archbishop of Milan, v. 40. Flies from the invasion

of Maximus, with her fon, 48.

Justinian, Emperor of the East, his birth and promotion, vii. 54. His orthodoxy, 59. Is invested with the diadem by his uncle Justin, 60. Marries Theodora, 70. Patronises the blue faction of the circus, 79. State of agriculture and manufacture in his provinces, 88. Introduces the culture of the filk-worm, and manufacture of filk, into Greece, 97. State of his revenue, 101. His avarice and profusion, 102. Taxes and monopolies, 105, 106. His ministers, 109. His public buildings, 113. Founds the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 116. His other public works, 122. His

European fortifications, 125. His Afiatic fortifications, 133. He suppresses the schools of Athens, 143. And the consular dignity, 152. Purchases a peace from the Persians, 156. 307. Undertakes to reftore Hilderic King of Carthage, 158. Reduction of Africa, 186. His instructions for the government of, 187. His acquisitions in Spain, 203. His deceirful negociations in Italy, 210. Weakness of his empire, 270. Receives an embaffy from the Avars, 201. And from the Turks, 293. Persian war, 315. His negociations His alliance with the Abyssinians, 343. with Chofroes, 337. Neglects the Italian war under Belifarius, 362. Settles the government of Italy under the Exarch of Ravenna, 398. Difgrace and death of Belifarius, 407. His death and character, 400. Comets and calamities in his reign, 412. His Code, Pandects, and Inititutes, viii. 1. His theological character and government, 317. His perfecuting spirit, 320. His orthodoxy, 324. Died a heretic, 328.

Justinian II., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 17.

Justinian, the fon of Germanus, his conspiracy, with the Empress Sophia, and successes against the Persians, viii. 137, 138.

Juvenal, his remarks on the crowded state of the inhabitants of Rome.

v. 288.

K

Khan, import of this title in the northern parts of Asia, iv. 353.

King, the title of, conferred by Conftantine the Great on his nephew Hannibalianus, iii. 116.

Kindred, degrees of, according to the Roman civil law, viii. 75. Knighthood, how originally conferred, and its obligations, xi. 37.

Koran of Mahomet, account and character of, ix. 267.

Koreish, the tribe of, acquire the custody of the Caaba at Mecca, ix. 246. Pedigree of Mahomet, 253. They oppose his pretensions to a prophetical character, 286. Flight of Mahomet, 288. Battle of Beder, 299. Battle of Ohud, 301. Mecca surrendered to Mahomet, 307.

L

Labarum, or standard of the cross, in the army of Constantine the Great, described, iii. 258.

Labeo, the civilian, his diligence in business and composition, viii. 25.

His professional character, 30.

Latantius, difficulties in afcertaining the date of his Divine Institutions, iii. 238. note. His flattering prediction of the influence of Christianity among mankind, 248. Inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire, 250.

Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Poland, leads an army against the

Turks, xii. 157. His breach of faith with them, 158.

Ladistaus, King of Naples, harasses Rome during the schism of the papacy, xii. 372.

Lætur,

Latus, Prætorian præfect, conspires the death of Commodus, and confers the empire on Pertinax, i. 156, 157.

Laity, when first distinguished from the clergy, ii. 340.

Lampadius, a Roman fenator, boldly condemns the treaty with Alaric the Goth, v. 238.

Lance, Holy, narrative of the miraculous discovery of, xi. 73.

Land, how affested by the Roman emperors. iii. 85. How divided by the Barbarians, vi. 353. Allodial, and Salic, distinguished, 357. Of Italy, how partitioned by Theodoric the Oftrogoth, VII. 17.

Laodicea, its ancient splendour, i. 80.

Lascaris Theodora, establishes an empire at Nice, xi. 253. His character, 308.

Lascaris, Theodore II., his character, xi. 312.

Lascaris, Janus, the Greek grammarian, his character, xii. 130.

Latin church, occasion of its separation from the Greek church, xi. 169. Corruption and schifm of, xii. 92. Re-union of, with the Greek church, 111. The subsequent Greek schism, 145.

Latium, the right of, explained, i. 58.

Laura, in monkish history, explained, vi. 263.

Law, review of the profession of, under the emperors, iii. 53.

Laws of Rome, review of, viii. 1. Those of the kings, 4. Of the twelve tables, 6. Of the people, 11. Decrees of the fenate, and edicts of the prætors, 13. Constitutions of the emperors, 16. The three codes of, 20. The forms of, ibid. Their rescripts, 19. Succession of civil lawyers, 23. Reformation of, by Justinian, 33. Abolition and revival of the penal laws, 94.

Lazi, the tribe of, in Colchos, account of, vii. 327.

Le Clerc, character of his ecclesiastical history, viii. 260. note.

Legacies and inheritances taxed by Augustus, i. 263. How regulated

by the Roman law, viii. 79.

Legion, in the Roman army under the emperors, described, i. 19. General distribution of the legions, 27. The fize of, reduced by Con-

stantine the Great, iii. 62.

Leo of Thrace is made Emperor of the East, by his master Aspar, vi. 191. Was the first Christian potentate who was crowned by a priest, 192. Confers the empire of the West on Anthemius, 193. His armament against the Vandals in Africa, 199. Murders Afpar and his fons, vii. 4.

Leo III., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 25. His edicts against

images in churches, 124. Revolt of Italy, 138.

Leo IV., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 29.

Leo V., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 37.

Leo VI., the philosopher, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 55.

tinguishes the power of the senate, x. 134.

Leo, Bishop of Rome, his character and embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila King of the Huns, vi. 131. Intercedes with Genferic King of the Vandals for clemency to the city of Rome, 151. Calls the council of Chalcedon, viii. 303.

Leo III., Pope, his miraculous recovery from the affault of af-113

faffins, ix. 172. Crowns Charlemagne Emperor of the Romans, 173.

Leo IV., Pope, his reign, x. 64. Founds the Leonine city, 66.

Leo IX., Pope, his expedition against the Normans of Apulia, x. 267. His treaty with them, 270.

Leo, Archbishop of Thessalonica, one of the restorers of Greek learning, x. 157.

Leo, General of the Eaft, under the Emperor Arcadius, his character, v. 388.

Leo Pilatus, first Greek professor at Florence, and in the West, his character, xii. 124.

Leo, the Jew profelyte, history of his family, xii. 315.

Leonas, the Quartor, his embaffy from Constantius to Julian, iv. 21. Leonine city at Rome founded, x. 66.

Leontius is taken from prison, and chosen Emperor of Constantinople, on the deposition of Justinian II., ix. 18.

Leovigild, Gothic King of Spain, his character, vi. 296. Revolt and death of his fon Hermenegild, 298.

Letters, a knowledge of, the test of civilization in a people, i. 352.

Lewis the Pious, Emperor of the Romans, ix. 188.

Lewis II., Emperor of the Romans, ix. 189. His epiftle to the Greek Emperor, Bafil I., x. 248.

Libanius, his account of the private life of the Emperor Julian, iv. 38. And of his divine vifions, 77. Applauds the diffimulation of Julian, 79, 80. His character, 151. His eulogium on the Emperor Valens, 411.

Liberius, Bishop of Rome, is banished by the Emperor Constantius, for refusing to concur in deposing Athanasius, iii. 375. 390.

Liberty, public, the only fure guardians of, against an aspiring prince,

Licinius is invested with the purple by the Emperor Galerius, ii. 208. His alliance with Constantine the Great, 237. Defeats Maximin, 238. His cruelty, 239. Is defeated by Constantine at Cibalis, 246. And at Mardia, 247. Peace concluded with Constantine, 249. Second civil war with Constantine, 255. His humiliation, and death, 263.

publishing the edict of Milan, 244. Violated this engagement by oppressing the Christians, 252. Cæcilius's account of his vision, 261.

Lieutenant, Imperial, his office and rank, i. 101.

Lightning, fuperstition of the Romans with reference to persons and places struck with, ii. 97.

Limigantes, Sarmatian flaves, expel their masters, and usurp possession of their country, iii. 126. Extinction of, by Constantius, 198.

Literature, revival of, in Italy, xii. 119. Ancient use and abuse of, 138.

Lithuania, its late conversion to Christianity, x. 243.

Literius, Count, is defeated and taken captive in Gaul by Theodoric,

Liutprand,

Lintprand, King of the Lombards, attacks the city of Rome, ix. 146.

Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, ambassador to Constantinople, ceremony of his audience with the Emperor, x. 125.

Logos, Plato's doctrine of, iii. 515. Is expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 318. Athanasius confesses himself unable to comprehend it, 322. Controversies on the eternity of, 328.

Logothete, Great, his office under the Greek emperors, x. 122.

Lombardy, ancient, described, i. 33. Conquest of, by Charlemagne,

ix. 150.

Lombards, derivation of their name, and review of their history vii. 274. Are employed by the Emperor Justinian to check the Gepidæ, 276. Actions of their King Alboin, viii. 117. They reduce the Gepidæ, 121. They over-run that part of Italy now called Lombardy, 126. Extent of their kingdom, 147. Language and manners of the Lombards, 148. Government and laws, 155, 156.

Longinus, his representation of the degeneracy of his age, i. 94.

put to death by Aurelian, ii. 43.

Longinus is fent to superfede Naries, as Exarch of Ravenna, viii. 125. Receives Rosamond, the fugitive Queen of the Lombards, 132.

Lothaire I., Emperor of the Romans, ix. 189.

Louis VII. of France is rescued from the treachery of the Greeks by Roger, King of Sicily, x. 316. Undertakes the fecond crusade, xi. 105. His difastrous expedition, 113.

Louis IX. of France, his crusades to the Holy Land, xi. 158. His death, 163. Procured a valuable stock of relics from Constanti-

nople, 278.

Lucian, the feverity of his fatire against the heathen mythology, accounted for, i. 49.

Lucian, Count of the East, under the Emperor Arcadius, his cruel-

treatment by the præfect Rufinus, v. 146. Lucian, Presbyter of Jerusalem, his miraculous discovery of the body

of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, v. 128.

Lucilian, governor of Illyricum, is surprised, and kindly treated by Julian, iv. 28. His death, 232. Lucilla, fifter of the Emperor Commodus, her attempt to get him

assassinated, i. 140, 141.

Lucius II. and III., Popes, their difastrous reigns, xii. 260.

Lucrine lake described, with its late destruction, v. 270, 271. note. Lucullan, villa in Campania, its description and history, vi. 229.

Lupercalia, the feast of, described, and continued under the Christian emperors, vi. 197.

Lupicinus, the Roman Governor of Thrace, oppresses the Gothic emigrants there, iv. 385. Rashly provokes them to hostilities, 389. Is defeated by them, 390.

Lustral contribution in the Roman empire, explained, in. 94.

Luther, Martin, his character, as a reformer, x. 189.

Luxury, the only means of correcting the unequal distribution of property, i. 87 II4

Lygians,

Lygians, a formidable German nation, account of, ii. 78.

Lyons, battle of, between the competitors Severus and Albinus,
i. 192.

M

Macedonius, the Arian Bishop of Constantinople, his contests with his competitor Paul, iii. 393. Fatal consequences on his removing the body of the Emperor Constantine to the church of St. Acacius, 395. His cruel persecutions of the Catholics and Novatians, 397. His exile, viii. 316.

Macrianus, prætorian præfect under the Emperor Valerian, his cha-

racter, i. 436.

Macrianus, a Prince of the Alemanni, his steady alliance with the Em-

peror Valentinian, iv. 286.

Macrinus, his fuccession to the empire predicted by an African, i. 222. Accelerates the completion of the prophecy, ibid. Purchases a peace with Parthia, 332.

Madayn, the capital of Persia, sacked by the Saracens, ix. 368. Maonius of Palmyra affassinates his uncle Odenathus, ii. 35.

Mesia, its situation, i. 37.

Magi, the worship of, in Persia, reformed by Artaxerxes, i. 318. Abridgment of the Persian theology, 320. Simplicity of their worship, 322. Ceremonies and moral precepts, 323. Their power, 325.

Magic, severe prosecution of persons for the crime of, at Rome and

Antioch, iv. 252.

Magnentius affumes the empire in Gaul, iii. 148. Death of Conftans, 149. Sends an embaffy to Conftantius, 151. Makes war against Constantius, 157. Is defeated at the battle of Murfa, 159. Kills himself, 166.

Mahmud, the Gaznevid, his twelve expeditions into Hindostan, x. 335.

His character, 338.

Mahomet, the Prophet, his embaffy to Chofroes II. King of Perfia, viii. 226.

, His genealogy, birth, and education, ix. 253. His person and character, 255. Assumes his prophetical mission, 260. Inculcated the unity of God, 262. His reverential mention of Jesus Christ, 265. His Koran, 267. His miracles, 270. His precepts, 273. His Hell, and Paradise, 279. The best authorities for his history, 282. note. Converts his own family, 283. Preaches publicly at Mecca, 285. Escapes from the Koreishites there, 288. Is received as Prince of Medina, 292. His regal dignity, and sacerdotal office, ibid. Declares war against Insidels, 295. Battle of Beder, 299. Battle of Ohud, 301. Subdues the Jews of Arabia, 302. Submission of Mecca to him, 307. He conquers Arabia, 309. His sickness and death, 317, 318. His character, 320. His private life, 324. His wives, 325. His children. 328. His posterity, 346. Remarks on the great spread and permanency of his religion, 349.

Mahomet, the fon of Bajazet, his reign, xii. 50.

Mahomet II., Sultan of the Turks, his character, xii. 182. His reign, 185. Indications of his hostile intentions against the Greeks, 187. He besseges Constantinople, 200. Takes the city by storm, 232. His entry into the city, 239. Makes it his capital, 243. His death, 254.

Mahometism, by what means propagated, ix. 489. Toleration of

Christianity under, 388.

Majorian, his history, character, and elevation to the Western empire, vi. 167. His epistle to the senate, 169. His salutary laws, 171. His preparations to invade Africa, 177. His sleet destroyed by Genseric, 181. His death, 183.

Malaterra, his character of the Normans, x. 264.

Malek Shah, Sultan of the Turks, his prosperous reign, x. 363. Reforms the Eastern calendar, 366. His death, 367.

Mallius Theodorus, the great civil honours to which he attained, iii. 54-

note.

Mamalukes, their origin and character, xi. 162. Their establishment

in Egypt, 164.

Mamaa, mother of the young Emperor Alexander Severus, acts as regent of the Empire, i. 241. Is put to death with him, 277. Her conference with Origen, ii. 449.

Mamgo, an Arminian noble, his history, ii. 141.

Man, the only animal that can accommodate himself to all climates, i. 349. note.

Mancipium, in the Roman law, explained, viii. 72.

Manicheans are devoted to death, by the edict of Theodosius against

heretics, v. 33.

Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 88. He repulses the Normans, x. 317. But fails in his scheme of subduing the Western empire, 321. His ill-treatment of the crusaders, xi. 109.

Maogamalcha, a city of Affyria, reduced and destroyed by the Em-

peror Julian, iv. 171.

Marble, the four species of, most esteemed by the Romans, i. 283.

Marcellinus, Count of the facred largesses under the Emperor Constans in Gaul, assists the usurpation of Magnentius, iii. 148. His embassy to Constantius, 151. Was killed in the battle of Mursa, 166.

Marcellinus, his revolt in Dalmatia, and character, vi. 185. Joins the Emperor Anthemius, and expels the Vandals from Sardinia, 200. His death, 205.

Marcellinus, fon of the præfect Maximin, his treacherous murder of Gabinius King of the Quadi, iv. 328.

Marcellus, the centurion, martyred for defertion, ii. 464.

Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, exiled to restore peace to the city, ii. 481. Marcellus, Bishop of Apamea in Syria, loses his life in destroying the Pagan temples, v. 106, 107.

Marcia, the concubine of the Emperor Commodus, a patronels of the

Christians, ii. 446.

Marcian,

Murcian, fenator of Constantinople, marries the Empress Pulcheria, and is acknowledged Emperor, vi. 85. His temperate refusal of the demands of Attila the Hun, 87.

Marcianopolis, the city of, taken by the Goths, i. 398.

Marcomanni are fubdued and punished by Marcus Antoninus, i. 381.
Alliance made with, by the Emperor Gallienus, 420.

Marcus elected Bishop of the Nazarenes, ii. 279.

Mardia, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, ii. 247.

Margus, battle of, between Diocletian and Carinus, ii. 110.

Margus, Bishop of, betrays his episcopal city into the hands of the Huns, vi. 51.

Maria, daughter of Eudæmon of Carthage, her remarkable adventures, vi. 31.

Mariana, his account of the misfortunes of Spain, by an irruption of the barbarous nations, v. 352.

Marinus, a fubaltern officer, chosen Emperor by the legions of Mæsia, i. 385.

Marius the armourer, a candidate for the purple among the competitors against Gallienus, his character, i. 446.

Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, is cruelly treated by the Emperor Julian, iv. 116.

Maronga, engagement there between the Emperor Julian and Sapor, King of Perlia, iv. 194.

Maronites of the East, character and history of, viii. 354.

Marozia, a Roman profitute, the mother, grandmother, and greatgrandmother, of three popes, ix. 198.

Marriage, regulations of, by the Roman laws, viii. 57. Of Roman citizens with strangers, proscribed by their jurisprudence, x. 129.

Martel, Charles, Duke of the Franks, his character, x. 23. His politic conduct on the Saracen invasion of France, 24, 25. Defeats the Saracens, 26. Why he was configned over to hell flames by the clergy, 27.

Martin, Bishop of Tours, destroys the idols and Pagan temples in Gaul, v. 106. His monkish institution there, vi. 245.

Martina marries her uncle, the Emperor Heraclius, ix. 9. Endeavours to share the Imperial dignity with her sons, 10. Her sate, 12. Martinianus receives the title of Cæsar from the Emperor Licinius, ii. 261.

Martyrs, primitive, an inquiry into the true history of, ii. 381. The feveral inducements to martyrdom, 435. Three methods of escaping it, 440. Marks by which learned Catholics distinguish the relics of the martyrs, 427. note. The worship of, and their relics, introduced, v. 123.

Mary, Virgin, her immaculate inception, borrowed from the Koran, ix. 266.

Mascazel, the persecuted brother of Gildo the Moor, takes refuge in the Imperial court of Honorius, v. 166. Is intrusted with troops to reduce Gildo, 167. Defeats him, 170. His suspicious death, 172.

Master

Mafter of the offices under Constantine the Great, his functions, iii. 70. Maturnus, his revolt and confpiracy against the Emperor Commodus,

Matthew, St., his gospel originally composed in Hebrew, ii. 357. note.

viii. 263. note.

Maurice, his birth, character, and promotion to the Eastern empire, viii. 140. Restores Chosroes II. King of Persia, 189. His war against the Avars, 200. State of his armies, 203. His abdication and death, 200, 210.

Mauritania, antient, its fituation and extent, i. 41. Character of the

native Moors of, vi. 15.

Maxentius, the fon of Maximian, declared Emperor at Rome, ii. 200. His tyranny in Italy and Africa, 216. The military force he had to oppose Constantine, 221. His defeat and death, 232. His politic

humanity to the Christians, 481.

Maximian, affociate in the empire with Diocletian, his character, ii. 115. Triumphs with Diocletian, 156. Holds his court at Milan, 158. Abdicates the empire along with Diocletian, 174. He refumes the purple, 200. Reduces Severus, and puts him to death, 202. His fecond refignation, and unfortunate end, 210. 212. His aversion to the Christians accounted for, 463.

Maximilianus, the African, a Christian martyr, ii. 464.

Maximin, his birth, fortune, and elevation to the empire of Rome,

i. 273. Why deemed a perfecutor of the Christians, 450.

Maximin is declared Cæfar, on the abdication of Diocletian, ii. 189. Obtains the rank of Augustus from Galerius, 208. His defeat and death, 238, 239. Renewed the perfecution of the Christians after the toleration granted by Galerius, 487.

Maximin, the cruel minister of the Emperor Valentinian, promoted to

the præfecture of Gaul, iv. 258.

Maximin, his embaffy from Theodofius the Younger, to Attila King of the Huns, vi. 68.

Maximus and Balbinus elected joint Emperors by the fenate, on the

deaths of the two Gordians, i. 200.

Maximus, his character and revolt in Britain, v. 8. His treaty with the Emperor Theodosius, 12. Perfecutes the Priscillianists, 34. His invasion of Italy, 47. His defeat and death, 52.

Maximus, the Pagan preceptor of the Emperor Julian, initiates him into the Eleusinian mysteries, iv. 76. Is honourably invited to Constantinople by his Imperial pupil, 92. Is corrupted by his refidence at court, 93.

Maximus, Petronius, his wife ravished by Valentinian III., Emperor of the West, vi. 140. His character and elevation to the empire,

Mebodes, the Persian general, ungratefully treated by Chosroes,

vii. 301.

Mecca, its fituation and description, ix. 227. The Caaba or temple Its deliverance from Abrahah, 254. The doctrine of Mahomet opposed there, 286. His escape, 288. The city

of, furrendered to Mahomet, 307. Is pillaged by Abu Taher, x. 77.

Medina, reception of Mahomet there, on his flight from Mecca, ix. 200.

Megal sia, the festival of, at Rome, described, i. 145. note.

Meletians, an Egyptian fect, perfecuted by Athanasius, iii. 360. Melitene, battle of, between the Eastern Emperor Tiberius and Chof-

roes King of Perfia, viii. 176.

Melo, citizen of Bari, invites the Normans into Italy, x. 258. Memphis, its fituation and reduction by the Saracens, ix. 420.

Merovingian kings of the Franks in Gaul, origin of, vi. 98. Their domain and benefices, 356.

Mervan, Caliph of the Saracens, and the last of the house of Ommiyah, his defeat and death, x. 31, 32.

Mesopotamia, invasion of, by the Emperor Julian, iv. 162. Described by Xenophon, 163, 164.

Messala, Valerius, the first præsect of Rome, his high character, iii. 46. note.

Messiah, under what character he was expected by the Jews, ii. 275. His birth-day, how fixed by the Romans, iv. 22. note.

Metals and money, their operation in improving the human mind, i. 356.

Metellus Numidicus, the cenfor, his invective against women, i. 241.

Metius Falconius, his artful speech to the Emperor Tacitus in the senate on his election, ii. 64.

Metrophanes of Cyzicus, is made Patriarch of Constantinople, xii. 147.

Metz, cruel treatment of, by Attila King of the Huns, vi. 108. Michael I., Rhangabe, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 35. Michael II., the Stammerer, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 40.

Michael III., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 45. Is defeated by the Paulicians, x. 179.

Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, Emperor of Conftantinople, ix. 71.

Michael V., Calaphates, Emperor of Conftantinople, ix. 72.

Michael VI., Stratioticus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 73.

Michael VII., Parapinaces, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 78.

Milan, how the Imperial court of the Western empire came to be transferred from Rome to that city, ii. 158.

-, famous edict of Constantine the Great in favour of the Christians, published there, iii. 244.

, St. Ambrose elected Archbishop of that city, v. 37. Tumults occasioned by his refusing a church for the Arian worship of the Empress Justina and her son, 40.

—, Revolt of, to Justinian, vii. 242, 243. Is taken and destroyed by the Burgundians, 250.

____, Is again destroyed by Frederic I., ix. 207.

Military force, its strength and efficacy dependant on a due proportion to the number of the people, i. 167.

Military

Military officers of the Roman Empire at the time of Constantine the Great, a review of, iii. 56.

Millenium, the doctrine of, explained, ii. 301.

Mingrelia. See Colchos.

Minority, two diffinctions of, in the Roman law, v. 154. note.

Miracles, those of Christ and his Apostles, escaped the notice of the heathen philosophers and historians, ii. 378, 379. Account of those wrought by the body of St. Stephen, v. 128.

Miraculous powers of the primitive church, an inquiry into, ii. 300. Missibeus, chief minister and father-in-law of the third Gordian, his

character, i. 307.

Misopogon of the Emperor Julian, on what occasion written, iv. 150. Mifforium, or great golden dish of Adolphus King of the Visigoths, history of, v. 336.

Moawiyah, affumes the title of Caliph, and makes war against Ali, ix. 338. His character and reign, 341. Lays siege to Constantinople, x. 3.

Modar, Prince of the Amali, seduced by the Emperor Theodosius,

turns his arms against his own countrymen, iv. 432.

Moguls, primitive, their method of treating their conquered enemies, vi. 54. Reign and conquests of Zingis, xi. 402. Conquests of his fucceffors, 413. See Tamerlane.

Moguntiacum, the city of, furprifed by the Alemanni, iv. 281.

Mokawkas the Egyptian, his treaty with the Saracen Amrou, ix. 432.

Monarchy defined, i. 95. Hereditary, ridiculous in theory, but falu-The peculiar objects of cruelty and of avarice tary in fact, 270. under, iii. 82.

Monaftic institutions, the seeds of, sown by the primitive Christians, ii. 325. Origin, progress, and consequence of, vi. 238.

Money, the standard and computation of, under Constantine the Great, and his fucceffors, iii. 89. note.

Monks have embellished the sufferings of the primitive martyrs by fic-

tions, ii. 423.

, Character of, by Eunapius, v. 123, 124. By Rutilius, 168. Origin and history of, vi. 239. Their industry in making profelytes, 248. Their obedience, 250. Their drefs and habitations. Their diet, 254. Their manual labour, 256. Their riches, Their folitude, 260. Their devotion and visions, 261. Their division into the classes of Canobites and Anachorets, 263.

-, Suppression of at Constantinople, by Constantine V., ix. 130.

Monophysites of the East, history of the sect of, viii. 350.

Monothelite controversy, account of, viii. 330.

Montesquieu, his description of the military government of the Roman empire, i. 310. His opinion that the degrees of freedom in a state are measured by taxation, controverted, iii. 82.

Montius, quæstor of the palace, is sent by the Emperor Constantius, with Domitian, to correct the administration of Gallus in the East. iii. 176. Is put to death there, 177.

Moors

Moors of Barbary, their miserable poverty, vii. 190. Their invasion of the Roman province punished by Solomon the Eunuch, 203.

Morea is reduced by the Turks, xii. 248.

Morofini, Thomas, elected Patriarch of Constantinople by the Venetians, xi. 246.

Mofeilama, an Arabian chief, endeavours to rival Mahomet in his

prophetical character, ix. 356.

Moses, the doctrine of the immortality of the foul not inculcated in his law, ii. 299. His fanguinary laws compared with those of Mahomet, ix. 295.

Mosheim, character of his work De rebus Christianis ante Constantinum,

viii. 260. note.

Moslemah, the Saracen, besieges Constantinople, x. 10.

Motassem, the last Caliph of the Saracens, his wars with the Greek Emperor Theophilus, x. 67. Is killed by the Moguls, xi. 418.

Mourzoufle, usurps the Greek empire, and destroys Isaac Angelus, and his fon Alexius, xi. 225. Is driven from Constantinople by the Latins, 230. His death, 252.

Monfa, the fon of Bajazet, invested with the kingdom of Anatolia, by Tamerlane, xii. 31. His reign, 49.

Mozarabes, in the history of Spain, explained, ix. 497.

Municipal cities, their advantages, i. 58.

Muratori, his literary character, xii. 394. note.

Murfa, battle of, between the Emperor Constantius, and the usurper Magnentius, iii. 159.

Musa the Saracen, his conquest of Spain, ix. 478. His difference, 483. His death, 486.

Mustapha, the supposed fon of Bajazet, his story, xii. 47.

Muta, battle of, between the forces of the Emperor Heraclius and those of Mahomet, ix. 313.

Mygdonius, river, the course of, stopped by Sapor King of Persia, at the siege of Nisibis, iii. 144.

N

Narbonne is befieged by Theodoric, and relieved by Count Litorius, vi. 95.

Nacoragan, the Persian General, his defeat by the Romans, and cruel fate, vii. 335.

Naiffus, battle of, between the Emperor Claudius and the Goths, ii. 12.

Naples is befieged and taken by Belifarius, vii. 218. Extent of the duchy of, under the Exarchs of Ravenna, viii. 146.

Narfes, his embaffy from Sapor King of Perfia to the Emperor Conftantius, iii. 201.

Narses, King of Persia, prevails over the pretensions of his brother Hormuz, and expels Tiridates King of Armenia, ii. 243. Overthrows Galerius, 144. Is surprised and routed by Galerius, 147. Articles of peace between him and the Romans, 153.

Narfes,

Narses, the Persian General of the Emperor Maurice, restores Choscos II. King of Persia, viii. 189. His revolt against Phocas, and cruel

death, 219.

Narses, the Eunuch, his military promotion, and diffention with Belifarius, vii. 247. His character and expedition to Italy, 301. Battle of Tagina, 385. Takes Rome, 388. Reduces and kills Teias, the last King of the Goths, 391. Defeats the Franks and Alemanni, 395. Governs Italy in the capacity of Exarch, 398. His difgrace and death, viii. 124.

Naulobatus, a chief of the Heruli, enters into the Roman service, and

is made conful, i. 431.

Navy of the Roman empire described, i. 28.

Nazarene church at Jerusalem, account of, ii. 277.

Nazarius the Pagan orator, his account of miraculous appearances in the fky in favour of Conftantine the Great, iii. 264.

Nebridius, Prætorian præfect in Gaul, is maimed and superseded, by his indiscreet opposition to the troops of Julian, iv. 24.

Negroes of Africa, evidences of their intellectual inferiority to the reft of mankind, iv. 311.

Nectarius is chosen Archbishop of Constantinople, v. 30.

Nennius, his account of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, different from that of Gildas, Bede, and Witikind, vi. 381. note.

Nepos, Julius, is made Emperor of the West by Leo the Great, vi. 210.

Nepotian, account of his revolt in Italy, iii. 162.

Nero perfecutes the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, ii. 405. Nerva, Emperor, his character, and prudent adoption of Trajan,

Neflorius, Archbishop of Constantinople, his character, viii. 283. His herefy concerning the incarnation, 215. His dispute with Cyril of Alexandria, 286. Is condemned, and degraded from his episcopal dignity, by the council of Ephesus, 291. Is exiled, 297. His death, 299. His opinions still retained in Persia, 339. Missions of his disciples in the East Indies, 343.

Nevers, John, Count of, disastrous fate of him and his party at the

battle of Nicopolis, xi. 451.

Nice becomes the capital refidence of Sultan Soliman, x. 373. Siege of, by the first crusaders, xi. 57.

Nicephorus I., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 35. His wars with the Saracens, x. 54. His death, 200.

Nicephorus II., Phocas, Emperor of Conftantinople, ix. 62. H military enterprifes, x. 86.

Nicephorus III., Botaniates, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 80. Was raifed to the throne by Sultan Soliman, x. 371.

Nicetas, Senator of Constantinople, his slight, on the capture of the city by the Latins, xi. 235. His brief history, 238. note. His account of the statues destroyed at Constantinople, 238.

Nicholas, Patriarch of Constantinople, opposes the fourth marriage of the Emperor Leo the philosopher, ix. 57.

Nicholas

Nicholas V., Pope, his character, xii. 134. How interested in the fall of Constantinople, 200.

Nicomedia, the court of Diocletian held there, and the city embellished by him, ii. 159. The church of, demolished by Diocletian, 467. His palace fired, 472.

Nicopolis, battle of, between Sultan Bajazet, and Sigifmond King of Hungary, xi. 450.

Nika, the fedition of, at Constantinople, vii. 84.

Ninevel, battle of, between the Emperor Heraclius, and the Persians, viii. 248.

Nisibis, the city of, described, and its obstinate defence against the Persians, iii. 142. Is yielded to Sapor by treaty, iv. 211.

Nizam, the Perfian Vizir, his illustrious character, and unhappy fate, x. 367.

Noab, his ark very convenient for refolving the difficulties of Mofaic antiquities, i. 350.

Nobilifimus, a title invented by Constantine the Great to distinguish his nephew Hannibalianus, iii. 116.

Noricum described, i. 56.

Normans, their fettlement in the province of Normandy in France, x. 257. Their introduction to Italy, 258. They ferve in Sicily, 261. They conquer Apulia, 262. Their character, 264. Their treaty with the Pope, 269.

Novatians are exempted by Constantine the Great, in a particular edict, from the general penalties of herefy, iii. 308. Are cruelly perfecuted by Macedonius Bishop of Constantinople, 397.

Novels of Justinian, how formed, and their character, viii. 46.

Noureddin, Sultan, his exalted character, xi. 122. Nubia, conversion of, to Christianity, viii. 368.

Numerian, the fon of Carus, succeeds his father in the empire, in conjunction with his brother Carinus, ii. 97.

Numidia, its extent at different æras of the Roman history, i. 41.

0

Oafis, in the defarts of Lybia, described, v. 382. note. Three places under this name pointed out, viii. 298. note.

Obedience, passive, theory and practice of the Christian doctrine of, iii. 248.

Obelisks, Egyptian, the purpose of their erection, iii. 194.

Oblations to the church, origin of, ii. 341.

Obligations, human, the fources of, viii, 82. Laws of the Romans respecting, 83.

Odenathus, the Palmyrene, his fuccessful opposition to Sapor King of Persia, i. 440. Is associated in the empire by Gallienus, 449. Character and fate of his Queen Zenobia, ii. 32.

Odin, the long reign of his family in Sweden, i. 362. note. His history, 390.

Odoacer,

Odoacer the first Barbarian King of Italy, vi. 224. His character and reign, 232. Refigns all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps to Euric King of the Visigoths, 308. Is reduced and killed by Theodoric the Oftrogoth, vii. 13.

Ohud, battle of, between Mahomet and Abu Sophian Prince of Mecca,

ix. 301.

Olga, Princess of Russia, her baptism, x. 239.

Olive, its introduction into the Western world, i. 85.

Olympic games compared with the tournaments of the Goths, xi. 39.
Olympic games compared with the tournaments of the Goths, xi. 39.
Olympicolorus, his account of the magnificence of the city of Rome, v. 262. His account of the marriage of Adolphus King of the

Visigoths with the Princess Placidia, 334.

Olympius, favourite of the Emperor Honorius, alarms him with unfavourable sufficions of the designs of Stilicho, v. 239. Causes Stilicho to be put to death, 242. His disgrace and ignominious death, 299.

Omar, Caliph of the Saracens, ix. 332. His character, 359. His

journey to Jerufalem, 412.

Ommiyah, elevation of the house of, to the office of Caliph of the Saracens, ix. 341. Why not the objects of public favour, x. 28. Deftruction of, 31.

Qracles, Heathen, are filenced by Conftantine the Great, iii. 406.
 Orchan, Emir of the Ottomans, his reign, xi. 434. Marries the daughter of the Greek Emperor Cantacuzene, 440.

Ordination of the clergy in the early ages of the church, an account

of, iii. 287.

Orestes is sent Ambassador from Attila King of the Huns, to the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, vi. 68. His history and promotion under the Western emperors, 221. His son Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West, 222.

Orestes, Prætor of Egypt, is insulted by a monkish mob in Alexandria,

viii. 280.

Origen declares the number of primitive martyrs to be very inconfiderable, ii. 427. His conference with the Empress Mammæa, 449. His memory perfecuted by the Emperor Justinian and his clergy, viii. 325.

Orleans befieged by Attila King of the Huns, and relieved by Ætius

and Theodoric, vi. 108.

Ofius, Bishop of Cordova, his great influence with Constantine the Great, iii. 268. Prevails on Constantine to ratify the Nicene creed, 347. Is with difficulty prevailed on to concur in deposing Athanasius, 376.

Ofrhoene, the small kingdom of, reduced by the Romans, i. 334. Offian, his poems, whether to be connected with the invasion of Caledonia by the Emperor Severus, i. 209. Is faid to have disputed with a Christian missionary, ii. 370. note.

Offia, the port of, described, v. 303. Othman, Caliph of the Saracens, ix. 333,

VOL. XII. K E

Othman,

Othman, the father of the Ottomans, his reign, xi. 432.

Otho I., King of Germany, reftores and appropriates the Western empire, ix. 190. Claims by treaty the nomination of the Pope of Rome, 196. Defeats the Turks, x. 216.

Otho II. deposes Pope John XII. and chastises his party at Rome,

Otho, Bishop of Frisingen, his character as an historian, xii. 290. note. Ottomans, origin and history of, xi. 431. They obtain an establishment in Europe, 443.

Ovid is banished to the banks of the Danube, iii. 121. Oxyrinchus, in Egypt, monkish piety of that city, vi. 243.

P

Pacatus, his encomium on the Emperor Theodosius the Great, v. 58. Paderasly, how punished by the Scatinian law, viii. 100. By Justinian, 102.

Pagan, derivation and revolutions of the term, iii. 4.10. note.

Paganifm, the ruin of, fuspended by the divisions among the Christians, iii. 410. Theological system of the Emperor Julian, iv. 72.

diction of, before it was subverted by Christianity, v. 92. Is renounced by the Roman senate, 100. The pagan sacrifices prohibited, 103. The temples demolished, 105. The ruin of, deplored by the sophists, 123. Pagan ceremonies revived in Christian churches, 133.

Palaclogus, Conftantine, Greek Emperor, his reign, xii. 175. Is

killed in the form of Constantinople by the Turks, 230.

Paleologus, John, Emperor of Conftantinople, xi. 372. Marries the daughter of John Cantacuzene, 382. Takes up arms against Cantacuzene, and is reduced to flight, 385. His restoration, 386. Discord between him and his sons, 454. His treaty with Pope Innocent VI., xii. 72. His visit to Pope Urban V. at Rome,

Palaologus, John II., Greek Emperor, his zeal, xii. 90. His voyage

to Italy, 95.

Palaologus, Manuel, affociated with his father John, in the Greek empire, xi. 454. Tribute exacted from him by Sultan Bajazet, 457. His treaties with Soliman and Mahomet, the fons of Bajazet VI., xii. 54. His visits to the courts of Europe, 77. Private motives of his European negotiations explained, 88. His death, 89.

Palwologus, Michael, Emperor of Nice, his brief replies to the negotiations of Baldwin II., Emperor of Conftantinople, xi. 283. His family and character, 315. His elevation to the throne, 318. His return to Conftantinople, 324. Blinds and banifies his young affociate, John Lafcaris, 325. He is excommunicated by the Patriarch Arfenius, 327. Affociates his fon Andronicus in the mire.

pire, 330. His union with the Latin church, 331. Instigates the revolt of Sicily, 342.

Palatines and Borderers, origin and nature of these distinctions in the Roman troops, iii. 60.

Palermo taken by Belifarius by stratagem, vii. 212.

Palestine, a character of, i. 39.

Palladium of Rome, described, v. 93. note.

Palladius, the notary, fent by Valentinian to Africa to inquire into the government of Count Romanus, connives with him in opprefing the province, iv. 302.

Palmyra, description of, and its destruction by the Emperor Aurelian,

11. 39.

Panatius was the first teacher of the Stoic philosophy at Rome, viii. 28. note.

Pandetts of Jullinian, how formed, viii. 37.

Panhypersebassos, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 120.

Pannonia, described, i. 36.

Pantheon at Rome, by whom erected, i. 71. note. Is converted into a Christian church, v. 107.

Pantomimes, Roman, described, v. 285.

Paper, where and when the manufacture of, was first found out, ix. 379.

Papinian, the celebrated lawyer, created Prætorian præfect, by the Emperor Severus, i. 201. His death, 217.

Papirius, Caius, reasons for concluding that he could not be the author of the Jus Papirianum, viii. 5. note.

Papills, proportion their number bore to that of the Protestants in England, at the beginning of the last century, iii. 253. note.

Para, King of Armenia, his history, iv. 316. Is treacherously killed by the Romans, 319.

Parabolani of Alexandria, account of, viii. 278. note.

Paradise, Mahomet's, described, ix. 282.

Paris, description of that city, under the government of Julian, iii. 235. Situation of his palace, iv. 10. note.

Parthia, fundued by Artaxerxes King of Persia, i. 329. Its conflitution of government similar to the feudal system of Europe, ibid. Recapitulation of the war with Rome, 331.

Pafchal II., Pope, his troublesome pontificate, xii. 267.

Pafforal manners, much better adapted to the fierceness of war, than to peaceful innocence, iv. 342.

Paternal authority, extent of, by the Roman laws, viii. 51. Succeffive limitations of, 53.

Patras, extraordinary deliverance of, from the Sclavonians and Saracens, x. 105.

Patricians, the order of, under the Roman republic, and under the emperors, compared, iii. 39. Under the Greek empire, their rank explained, ix. 153.

Patrick, the tutelar Saint of Ireland, derivation of his name, vi. 229.

Pavia,

Pavia, massacre of the friends of Stilicho there, by the instigations of Olympius, v. 240. Is taken by Alboin King of the Lombards, who fixes his relidence there, viii. 128.

Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, his character and history.

ii. 454.

Paul, Archbishop of Constantinople, his fatal contest with his competitor Macedonius, iii. 393.

Paula, a Roman widow, her illustrious descent, v. 257. owner of the city of Nicopolis, 263. Her monastic zeal. vi. 248.

Paulicians, origin and character of, x. 168. Are perfecuted by the Greek emperors, 175. They revolt, 177. They are reduced, and transplanted to Thrace, 181. Their present state, 184.

Paulina, wife of the tyrant Maximin, foftens his ferocity by gentle

councils, i. 280. note.

Paulinus, maîter of the offices to Theodofius the Younger, his crime, and execution, v. 424.

Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, his history, v. 326.

Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, flies from the Lombards with his treasure, into the island of Grado, viii. 127.

Pegafians, the party of, among the Roman civilians, explained, viii. 32.

Pekin, the city of, taken by Zingis the Mogul Emperor, xi. 409. Pelagian controverly agitated by the Latin clergy, v. 226. And in Britain, 369.

Pella, the church of the Nazarenes settled there, on the destruction of Jerufalem, ii. 278.

Peloponnesus, state of, under the Greek Empire, x. 105. Manufactures, 108.

Penal laws of Rome, the abolition and revival of, viii. 94.

Pendragon, his office and power in Britain, v. 360. Penitentials, of the Greek and Latin churches, hiltory of, xi. 16.

Pepin, King of France, affifts the Pope of Rome against the Lombards, ix. 148. Receives the title of King by papal fanction, 152. Grants the exarchate to the Pope, 156.

Pepin, John, Count of Minorbino, reduces the tribune Rienzi, and reftores aristocracy and church government at Rome, xii. 355. Pepper, its high estimation and price at Rome, v. 295. note.

Perennis, minister of the Emperor Commodus, his great exaltation and downfal, 143.

Perisabor, a city of Assyria, reduced and burned by the Emperor Julian, iv. 170.

Perozes, King of Perfia, his fatal expedition against the Nepthalites,

Persecutions, ten, of the primitive Christians, a review of, ii. 443. Perseus, amount of the treasures taken from that Prince, i. 256.

Persia, the monarchy of, restored by Artaxerxes, i. 318. The religion of the Magi reformed, ibid. Abridgment of the Persian theology, 320. Simplicity of their worship, 322. Ceremonies and

moral precepts, 323. Every other mode of worship prohibited but that of Zoroaster, 328. Extent and population of the country, 330. Its military power, 342. Account of the audience given by the Emperor Carus to the ambassadors of Varanes, ii. 94. The throne of, disputed by the brothers Narses and Hormuz, 143. Galerius defeated by the Persians, 144. Narses overthrown in his turn by Galerius, 148. Articles of peace agreed on between the Persians and the Romans, 153.

Perfia, war between Sapor, King of, and the Emperor Conftantius, iii. 139. Battle of Singara, 140. Sapor invades Mesopotamia, 204. The Persian territories invaded by the Emperor Julian, iv. 161. Passage of the Tigris, 180. Julian harassed in his retreat, 194. Treaty of peace between Sapor and the Emperor Jovian, 209.

Reduction of Armenia, and death of Sapor, 313. 315.

, the filk trade, how carried on from China through Perfia, for the fupply of the Roman empire, vii. 94. Death of Perozes, in an expedition against the white Huns, 136. Review of the reigns of Cabades, and his fon Chosroes, 298. Anarchy of, after the death of Chosroes II., viii. 254. Ecclesiastical history of, 330.

, conquest of, by the Moguls, xi. 416. By Tamerlane,

xii. 7.

Pertinax, his character, and exaltation to the Imperial throne, i. 157. His funeral and apotheofis, 187.

Pescennius Niger, Governor of Syria, affumes the Imperial dignity on the death of Pertinax, i. 178.

Petavius, character of his Dogmata Theologica, viii. 260. note.

Peter, brother of the eastern Emperor Maurice, his injurious treatment of the citizens of Azimuntium, and flight from thence, viii. 201.

Peter I., Czar of Russia, his conduct towards his fon, contrasted with that of Constantine the Great, iii. 112.

Peter of Arragon, assumes the kingdom of Sicily, xi. 344.

Peter, Bartholomew, his miraculous discovery of the Holy Lance, xi. 73. His strange death, 76.

Peter of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, xi. 268.

Peter the Hermit, his character and scheme to recover the Holy Land from the infidels, xi. 1. Leads the first crusaders, 24. Failure of his zeal, 72.

Petra, the city of, taken by the Persians, vii. 330. Is besieged by

the Romans, 331. Is demolished, 333.

Petrarch, his studies and literary character, xii. 121. And history, 324. His account of the ruin of the antient buildings of Rome, 417.

Pfeffel,

Pfeffel, character of his history of Germany, ix. 212. notes.

Phalanx, Grecian, compared with the Roman legion, i. 21.

Pharamond, the actions, and foundation of the French monarchy by him, of doubtful authority, v. 360.

Pharas commands the Heruli, in the African war, under Belifarius, vii. 165. Purfues Gelimer, 189. His letter to Gelimer, 191.

Pharifees, account of that feet among the Jews, ii. 299.

Phasis, river, its course described, vii. 319.

Pheafant, derivation of the name of that bird, vii. 321.

Philelphus, Francis, his character of the Greek language of Constantinople, xii. 115.

Philip I. of France, his limited dignity and power, xi. 8.

Philip Augustus, of France, engages in the third crusade, xi. 143. Philip, Pretorian præsect under the third Gordian, raised to the empire on his death, i. 309. Was a favourite of the Christians, ii. 451.

Philip, Prætorian præfect of Conftantinople, conveys the Bishop Paul into banishment claudestinely, iii. 304.

Philippicus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 23.

Philippopolis taken and facked by the Goths, i. 399.

Philo, a character of his works, iii. 317.

Philosophy, Grecian, review of the various fects of, i. 48.

Phineus, the fituation of his palace, iii. 5.

Phocaa is fettled by Genoese, who trade in alum, xii. 52.

Phocas, a centurion, is chosen Emperor by the disaffected troops of the Eastern empire, viii. 206. Murders the Emperor Maurice, and his children, 209. His character, 212. His fall, and death, 216. Phanicia described, i. 39.

Photius, the fon of Antonina, distinguishes himself at the siege of Naples, vii. 261. Is exiled, 263. Betrays his mother's vices to Belisarius, 264. Turus monk, 267.

Photius, the patrician, kills himself to escape the perfecution of Justinian, viii. 322.

Photius, Patriarch of Conftantinople, character of his Library, x. 158. His quarrel with the Pope of Rome, xi. 173.

Phranza, George, the Greek historian, some account of, xii. 88. note. His embassies, 176. His fate on the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 235.

Picardy, derivation of the name of that province, xi. 1. note.

Pilate, Pontius, his testimony in favour of Jesus Christ, much improved by the primitive fathers, ii. 445.

Pilpay's fables, history and character of, vii. 306.

Pinna marina, a kind of filk manufactured from the threads fpun by this fish, by the Romans, vii. 93.

Pipa, a Princess of the Marcomanni, espoused by the Emperor Gallienus, i. 420.

Pifo, Calphurnius, one of the competitors against Gallienus, his illustribus family and character, i. 447.

Pityus, the city of, destroyed by the Goths, i. 424.

Placidia,

Placidia, daughter of Theodofius the Great, her history and marriage with Adolphus King of the Goths, v. 334. Is injuriously treated by the usurper Singeric, after the death of her husband, 355. Her marriage with Constantius, and retreat to Constantinople, vi. 2. Her administration in the West, as guardian of her son the Emperor Valentinian III., 8. History of her daughter Honoria, 103. Her death and burial, 138. note.

Plague, origin and nature of this disease, vii. 418. Great extent and

long duration of that in the reign of Justinian, 423.

Plato, his theological fystem, iii. 314. Is received by the Alexandrian Jews, 316. And expounded by St. John the Evangelist, 318. The theological fystem of the Emperor Julian, iv. 72.

Platonic philosophy introduced into Italy, xii. 133.

Platoniffs, new, an account of, ii. 182. Unite with the heathen priefts to oppose the Christians, 462.

Plautianus, Prætorian præfect under the Emperor Severus, his history, i. 201.

Plebeians of Rome, state and character of, v. 278.

Pliny the Younger, examination of his conduct toward the Christians, ii. 417.

Poet laureat, a ridiculous appointment, xii. 326. note.

Poggius, his reflections on the ruin of ancient Rome, xii. 395.

Poitiers, battle of, between Clovis King of the Franks, and Alaric King of the Goths, vi. 335.

Pollentia, battle of, between Stilicho the Roman general, and Alaric

the Goth, v. 198.

Polytheism of the Romans, its origin and effects, i. 46. How accounted for by the primitive Christians, ii. 288. Scepticism of the people at the time of the publication of Christianity, 355. The Christians why more odious to the Pagans than the Jews, 387.

the ruin of, fufpended by the divisions among Christians, iii. 410. Theological system of the Emperor Julian, iv. 72.

review of the Pagan ecclefiaftical establishment, v. 92. Revival of, by the Christian monks, 130.

Pompeianus, Præfect of Rome, proposes to drive Alaric from the walls by spells, v. 202.

Pompeianus Ruricius, General under Maxentius, defeated and killed by Constantine the Great, ii. 227.

Pompey, his discretional exercise of power during his command in the East, i. 100. Increase of the tributes of Asia by his conquests, 257. Pontiffs, Pagan, their jurisdiction, v. 92.

Pontifex Maximus, in Pagan Rome, by whom that office was exer-

cifed, iii. 281.

Popes of Rome, the growth of their power, ix. 131. Revolt of, from the Greek emperors, 137. Origin of their temporal dominion, 155. Publication of the Decretals, and of the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, 159. Authority of the German emperors in their election, 195. Violent distractions in their election, 197.

Popes,

Popes, foundation of their authority at Rome, xii. 260. Their mode of election fettled, 299. Schiffm in the papacy, 367. They acquire the absolute dominion of Rome, 387. The ecclefiastical government, 391.

Population of Rome, a computation of, v. 286.

Porcaro, Stephen, his conspiracy at Rome, xii. 383.

Postbumus, the Roman General under the Emperor Gallienus, defends
Gaul against the incursions of the Franks, i. 414. Is killed by his
mutinous troops. ii. 220.

Power, absolute, the exercise of, how checked, x. 135.

Prafett of the facred bed-chamber, under Constantine the Great, his office, iii. 69.

Prafetts of Rome and Constantinople, under the Emperors, the nature of their offices, iii. 45. The office revived at Rome, xii. 282.

Pratextatus, præfect of Rome under Valentinian, his character, iv. 275.

Pratorian bands in the Roman army, an account of, i. 168. They fell the empire of Rome by public auction, 171. Are difgraced by the Emperor Severus, 186. A new establishment of them, 199. Authority of the Prætorian Præfect, 200. Are reduced, their privileges abolished, and their place supplied, by the Jovians and Herculeans, ii. 161. Their desperate courage under Maxentius, 232. Are totally suppressed by Constantine the Great, 235.

Pratorian præfect, revolutions of this office under the emperors, iii. 42. Their functions when it became a civil office, 44.

Prators of Rome, the nature and tendency of their edicts explained, viii. 13.

Preaching, a form of devotion unknown in the temples of Paganism, iii. 301. Use and abuse of, 302.

Predestination, influence of the doctrine of, on the Saracens and Turks, ix. 296.

Presbyters, among the primitive Christians, the office explained,

Prefer John, origin of the romantic stories concerning, viii. 344.

Priests, no distinct order of men among the ancient Pagans, ii. 354.

Priestley, Dr., the ultimate tendency of his opinions pointed out, x. 193. note.

Primogeniture, the prerogative of, unknown to the Roman law, viii. 75.

Prince of the waters in Persia, his office, vii. 303. note.

Priscillian, Bishop of Avila in Spain, is, with his followers, put to death for herefy, v. 34.

Priscus, the historian, his conversation with a captive Greek, in the camp of Attila, vi. 59. His character, 67. note.

Prifcus, the Greek general, his fuccesses against the Avars, viii. 203. Proba, widow of the præsect Petronius, her slight from the sack of Rome by Alaric, v. 321.

Probus

Probus affumes the Imperial dignity in opposition to Florianus, ii. 70. His character and history, 72.

Probus, Prætorian præfect of Illyricum, preferves Sirmium from the Quadi, iv. 330.

Probus, Sicorius, his embaffy from the Emperor Diocletian to Narfes, King of Perfia, ii. 151.

Procida, John of, instigates the revolt of Sicily from John of Anjou,

XI. 344:

Proclus, story of his extraordinary brazen mirror, vii. 113.

Procelus, the Platonic philosopher of Athens, his superstition, vii. 149. Proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, their office, iii. 48.

Procopia, wife of the Greek Emperor Michael I., her martial inclina-

tions, ix. 36.

Procepius, his history and revolt against Valens Emperor of the East, iv. 243. Is reduced, and put to death, 250. His account of the testament of the Emperor Arcadius, v. 412. His account of Britain, vi. 401. Character of his histories, vii. 61. Accepts the office of secretary under Belisarius, 162. His defence of the Roman archers, 165. His account of the desolation of the African province by war, 353.

Proculians, origin of the fect of, in the Roman civil law, viii. 30.

Proculus, his extraordinary character, and his rebellion against Probus

in Gaul, ii. 87.

Prodigies in ancient history, a philosophical resolution of, iii. 263. Promises, under what circumstances the Roman law enforced the fulfilment of, viii. 83.

Promotus, Master-general of the infantry under Theodosius, is ruined

by the enmity of Rufinus, v. 140.

Property, personal, the origin of, viii. 70. How ascertained by the Roman laws, 71. Testamentary dispositions of, how introduced, 77. Prophets, their office among the primitive Christians, ii. 330.

Propontis described, iii. 8.

Proterius, Patriarch of Alexandria, his martial episcopacy, and vio-

lent death, viii. 310.

Protestants, their resistance of oppression, not consistent with the practice of the primitive Christians, iii. 249. Proportion of their number to that of the Catholics, in France, at the beginning of the last century, 253. note. Estimate of their reformation of Popery, x. 188. Protosebastos, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 120.

Proverbs, the book of, why not likely to be the production of King

Solomon, vii. 195. note.

Provinces of the Roman empire described, i. 30. Distinction between Latin and Greek provinces, 60. Account of the tributes received from, 257. Their number and government after the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, iii. 50.

Prusa, conquest of, by the Ottomans, xi. 434. Prussia, emigration of the Goths to, i. 392.

Pulcheria, fifter of the Emperor Theodosius the Younger, her character and administration, v. 416. Her lessons to her brother, 419. Her contests with the Empress Eudocia, 424. Is proclaimed Empress

press of the East, on the death of Theodosius, vi. 84. Her death and canonization, 190.

Purple, the royal colour of, among the ancients, far surpassed by the modern discovery of cochineal, vii. 90. note.

Pygmies of Africa, ancient fabulous account of, iv. 310.

Quadi, the inroads of, punished by the Emperor Constantius, Revenge the treacherous murder of their King Gabinius, ш. 19б. iv. 330.

Quaftor, historical review of this office, iii. 71.

Question, criminal, how exercised under the Roman emperors, iii. 79. Quintilian brothers, Maximus and Condianus, their history, i. 142. Quintilius brother of the Emperor Claudius, his ineffectual effort to fucceed him, ii. 15.

Quintus Curtius, an attempt to decide the age in which he wrote, i. 306. note.

Quirites, the effect of that word when opposed to foldiers, i. 252.

R

Radagaifus, King of the Goths, his formidable invasion of Italy, v. 213. His favage character, 217. Is reduced by Stilicho, and put to death, 220.

Radiger, King of the Varni, compelled to fulfil his matrimonial ob-

ligations by a British heroine, vi. 402.

Ramadan, the month of, how observed by the Turks, ix. 276.

Rando, a chieftain of the Alemanni, his unprovoked attack of Moguntiacum, iv. 281.

Ravenna, the ancient city of, described, v. 207. The Emperor Honorius fixes his refidence there, 210. Invafion of, by a Greek fleet, ix. 140. Is taken by the Lombards, and recovered by the Venetians, 146. Final conquest of, by the Lombards, 147. The exarchate of, bestowed by Pepin on the Pope, 156.

Raymond of Thoulouse, the crusader, his character, xi. 33. route to Constantinople, 43. His bold behaviour there, 51. Raymond, Count of Tripoli, betrays Jerusalem into the hands of

Saladin, xi. 135.

Raynal, Abbe, mistaken in afferting that Constantine the Great suppressed Pagan worship, iii. 404.

Rebels, who the most inveterate of, x. 177.

Recared, the first Catholic King of Spain, converts his Gothic subjects, vi. 299.

Reformation from popery, the amount of, estimated, x. 188. A secret reformation still working in the reformed churches, 192. Rein-deer, this animal driven northward by the improvement of climate

from cultivation, i. 347.

Relies,

Relics, the worship of, introduced by the monks, v. 124. A valuable cargo of, imported from Conftantinople by Louis IX. of France. xi. 280.

Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, converts Clovis, King of the Franks,

vi. 319.

Repentance, its high efteem, and extensive operation, among the primitive Christians, ii. 316.

Refurrection, general, the Mahometan doctrine of, ix. 277.

Retiarius, the mode of his combat with the fecutor, in the Roman

amphitheatre, i. 154.

Revenues of the primitive church, how distributed, ii. 345. iii. 294. Of the Roman empire, when removed to Constantinople, a review of, iii. 82.

Rhateum, city of, its fituation, iii. 11.

Rhetia described, i. 35.

Rhazates, the Persian general, defeated and killed by the Emperor Heraclius, viii. 249.

Rhetoric, the study of, congenial to a popular state, vii. 144.

Rhine, the banks of, fortified by the Emperor Valentinian, iv. 283. Rhodes, account of the Coloilus of, ix. 425. The Knights of, xi. 438.

Richard I. of England, engages in the third crusade, xi. 145. flows the island of Cyprus on the house of Lusignan, 183. reply to the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, 188.

Richard, monk of Cirencester, his literary character, v. 365. note.

Ricimer, Count, his history, vi. 165. Permits Majorian to affume the Imperial dignity in the Western empire, 169. Enjoys supreme power under cover of the name of the Emperor Libius Severus, 183. Marries the daughter of the Emperor Anthemius, 195. Sacks Rome, and kills Anthemius, 217. His death, 218.

Rienzi, Nicholas di, his birth, character, and history, xii. 331. Roads, Roman, the construction and great extent of, i. 81.

Robert of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, xi. 270.

Robert, Count of Flanders, his character and engagement in the first crufade, xi. 32.

Robert, Duke of Normandy, his character and engagement in the first crufade, xi. 32. Recalled by the censures of the church, 71.

Roderic, the Gothic King of Spain, his defeat and death by Tarik the Arab, ix. 473.

Rodugune, probable origin of her character, in Rowe's Royal Convert, vi. 402, 403. note.

Roger, Count of Sicily, his exploits, and conquest of that island, x. 281.

Roger, fon of the former, the first King of Sicily, x. 308. military atchievements in Africa and Greece, 311.

Roger de Flor, engages as an auxiliary in the service of the Greek Emperor Andronicus, xi. 347. His affaffination, 350.

Romanus I., Lecapenus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 58.

Romanus II., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 61.

Romanus III., Argyrus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 69.

Romanus

Romanus IV., Diogenes, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 78. Is defeated and taken prisoner by the Turkish Sultan Alp Arslan, x. 356. His treatment, deliverance, and death, 358.

Romanus, Count, governor of Africa, his corrupt administration, iv. 301.

Romanus, governor of Bosra, betrays it to the Saracens, ix. 384, 385.

Rome, the three periods of its decline pointed out, i. Preface. Its prosperous circumstances in the second century, 1. The principal conquests of, atchieved under the republic, 2. Conquests under the Emperors, 5. Military establishment of the Emperors, 14. Naval force of the empire, 28. View of the provinces of the empire, 30. Its general extent, 44. The union and internal prosperity of the empire, in the age of the Antonines, accounted for, 45. Treatment of the provinces, 56. Benefits included in the freedom of the city, 59. Distinction between the Latin and Greek provinces, 60. Prevalence of the Greek, as a scientific language, 63. Numbers and condition of the Roman flaves, ibid. Populousness of the empire, 68. Unity and power of the government, 69. Monuments of Roman architecture, 70. The Roman magnificence chiefly displayed in public buildings, 75. Principal cities in the empire, 77. Public roads, 81. Great improvements of agriculture in the western countries of the empire, 84. Arts of luxury, 87. Commerce with the East, 88. Contemporary representation of the prosperity of the empire, 90. Decline of courage and genius, 91, 92. Review of public affairs after the battle of Actium, 95. The Imperial power and dignity confirmed to Augustus by the senate, 98. The various characters and powers vested in the Emperor, 103. General idea of the Imperial fystem, 109. Abortive attempt of the senate to refume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 116. The emperors affociate their intended successors to power, 119. The most happy period in the Roman history pointed out, 126. Their pecuculiar misery under their tyrants, 129. The empire publicly fold by auction by the prætorian guards, 171. Civil wars of the Romans, how generally decided, 192. When the army first received regular pay, 256. How the citizens were relieved from taxation, ibid. General estimate of the Roman revenue from the provinces, 260. Miseries flowing from the succession to the empire being elective, 271. A fummary review of the Roman hiftory, 313. Recapitulation of the war with Parthia, 331. Invafion of the provinces by the Goths, 397. The office of cenfor revived by the Emperor Decius, 400. Peace purchased of the Goths, 406. The Emperor Valerian taken prisoner by Sapor, King of Persia, 436. The popular conceit of the thirty tyrants of Rome investigated, 444. Famine and pestilence throughout the empire, 455. The city fortified against the inroads of the Alemanni, ii 27. Remarks on the alleged sedition of the officers of the mint under Aurelian, 50. Observations on the peaceful interregnum after the death of Aurelian, 59. Colonies of Barba-

rians introduced into the provinces by Probus, 82. Exhibition of the public games by Carinus, 100. Treaty of peace between the Persians and the Romans, 153. The last triumph celebrated at Rome, 156. How the Imperial courts came to be transferred to Milan and Nicomedia, 158. The prætorian bands superfeded by the Jovian and Herculean guards, 161. The power of the senate annihilated, 162. Four divisions of the empire under four conjunct princes, 168. Their expensive establishments call for more burdensome taxes, 169. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the empire, 170. Six Emperors existing at one time, 208. The senate and people apply to Conftantine to deliver them from the tyranny of Maxentius, 220. Constantine enters the city victorious, 233. Laws of Constantine, 250. Constantine remains sole Emperor, 264. Hiftory of the progress and establishment of Christianity, 265. Pretentions of the Bishop of Rome, whence deduced, 339. State of the church at Rome at the time of the perfecution by Nero, 364. Narrative of the fire of Rome, in the reign of Nero, The Christians persecuted as the incendiaries, 405. The memorable edicts of Diocletian and his affociates against the Christians, 468.

Rome, account of the building and establishment of the rival city of Constantinople, iii. 4. New forms of administration established there, 30. Division of the empire among the sons of Constantine, 133. Establishment of Christianity as the national religion, 280. Tumults excited by the rival Bishops, Liberius and Fælix, 390. Paganism restored by Julian, iv. 84. And Christianity by Jovian, 227. The empire divided into the East and West, by the Emperor Valentinian, 242. Civil institutions of Valentinian, 259. The crafty avarice of the clergy restrained by Valentinian, 270. Bloody contest of Damasus and Ursinus for the Bishopric of Rome, 274.

Great earthquake, 338.

The Emperor Theodofius vifits the city, v. 55. Inquiry into the cause of the corruption of morals in his reign, 87. Review of the Pagan establishment, 92. The Pagan religion renounced by the senate, 100. Sacrifices prohibited, 103. The Pagan religion prohibited, 116. Triumph of Honorius and Stilicho over Alaric the Goth, 204. Alaric encamps under the walls of the city, 255. Retrospect of the state of the city when besieged by Hannibal, ibid. Wealth of the nobles and magnishence of the city, 262. Character of the nobles of, by Ammianus Marcellinus, 267. State and character of the common people, 278. Public distributions of bread, &c., 280. Public baths, 282. Games and spectacles, 284. Attempts to ascertain the population of the city, 286. The citizens suffer by famine, 290. Plague, 292. The retreat of Alaric purchased by a ransom, 295. Is again besieged by Alaric, 303. The senate unites with him in electing Attalus Emperor, 305. The city seized by Alaric, and plundered, 311. Comparison between this event and the sack of Rome by the Emperor Charles V., 322. Alaric quits Rome and ra-

vages Italy, 325. Laws paffed for the relief of Rome, and Italy, Triumph of Honorius for the reduction of Spain by Wallia, 258. Is preserved from the hands of Attila by a ransom, vi. 131. Indications of the ruin of the empire, at the death of Valentinian III., 142. Sack of the city by Geneferic King of the Van-The public buildings of, protected from depredation by dals, 151. the laws of Majorian, 174. Is facked again by the patrician Ricimer, 217. Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West, 222. The decay of the Roman spirit remarked, 231. History of monastic institutions in, 244. General observations on the history of the

Roman empire, 405.

Rome - Italy conquered by Theodoric the Oftrogoth, vii. 13. Profperity of the city under his government, 29. Account of the four factions in the circus, 76. First introduction of filk among the Romans, 91. The office of conful suppressed by Justinian, The city receives Belifarius, 224. Siege of, by the Goths, ibid. Diftressful siege of, by Totila the Coth, 362. Is taken, 366. Is recovered by Belifarius, 370. Is again taken by Totila, 376. Is taken by the Eunuch Naries, 388. Extinction of the fenate, 389. The city degraded to the fecond rank under the Exarchs of Ravenna, 400. A review of the Roman laws, viii. 1. Extent of the dutchy of, under the Exarchs of Ravenna, 146. Miserable state of the city, 158. Pontificate of Gregory the Great, 164.

-, The government of the city new modelled under the popes, after their revolt from the Greek emperors, ix. 142. Is attacked by the Lombards, and delivered by King Pepin, 146. The office and rank of Exarchs and Patricians explained, 153. Reception of Charlemagne by Pope Adrian I., 154, 155. Origin of the temporal power of the popes, 156. Mode of electing a pope, 195. Is menaced by the Saracens, x. 61. Prosperous pontificate of Leo IV., 64. Is befieged and taken by the Emperor Henry III., 302. Great part of the city burnt by Robert Guiscard, in the

cause of Pope Gregory VII., 304.

-, The history of, refumed, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, xii. 256. French and German emperors of, 258. Authority of the popes, 260. Restoration of the republican form of government, 277. Office of fenator, 285. Wars against the neighbouring cities, 297. Institution of the Jubilee, 310. Revolution in the city, by the tribunc Rienzi, 331. Calamities flowing from the fchifm of the papacy, 369. Statutes and government of the city, 380. Porcaro's conspiracy, 383. The ecclefiaftical government of, 391. Reflections of Poggius on the ruin of the city, 395. Four principal causes of its ruin specified, 400. The Colifeum of Titus, 418. Restoration and ornaments of the city, 428.

Romilda, the betrayer of Friuli to the Avars, her cruel treatment by

them, viii. 227.

Rofamond, daughter of Cunimund King of the Gepidæ, her marriage

with Alboin King of the Lombards, viii. 119. Conspires his mura der, 129. Her flight and death, 131.

Roum, the Seljukian kingdom of, formed, x. 372.

Rudbeck, Olaus, fummary abridgment of the argument in his Atlantica,

i. 351.

Rufinus, the confidential minister of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, stimulates his cruelty against Thessalonica, v. 66. character and administration, 139. His death, 157, 158. Rugilas, the Hun, his settlement in Hungary, vi. 38.

Runic characters, the antiquity of, traced, i. 352. note.

Russia, origin of the monarchy of, x. 219. Geography and trade of, 223. Naval expeditions of the Ruffians against Constantinople, 228. Reign of the Czar Swatoslaus, 233. The Ruffians converted to Christianity, 238. Is conquered by the Moguls, xi. 420.

Rustan, a Persian nobleman, a saying of his, expressive of the danger

of living under despots, i. 129.

Rutilius, his character of the monks of Capraria, v. 167, 168.

Sabellius the herefiarch, his opinions afterward adopted by his antagonist, iii. 237. His doctrine of the Trinity, 331. The Sabellians unite with the Tritheists at the council of Nice to overpower the Arians, 334.

Sabians, their aftronomical mythology, ix. 249.

Sabinian obtains the command of the eastern provinces from Conftantius, iii. 211.

Sabinian, General of the East, is defeated by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, King of Italy, vii. 24.

Sabinians, origin of the fect of, in the Roman civil law, viii. 30.

Sadducees, account of that fect among the Jews, ii. 299.

Saladin, his birth, promotion, and character, xi. 129. Conquers the kingdom of Jerusalem, 136. His ineffectual siege of Tyre, 140. Siege of Acre, 142. His negociations with Richard I. of Eng. land, 149. His death, 151.

Salerno, account of the medical school of, x. 278.

Salic laws, history of, vi. 343.

Sallust, the præfect, and friend of the Emperor Julian, declines the offer of the diadem on his death, iv. 204. Declines it again on the death of Jovian, 235. Is retained in his employment by the Emperor Valentinian, 241.

Sallust, the historian, by what funds he raised his palace on the Oui-

rinal hill, v. 318. note.

Salona, the retreat of the Emperor Diocletian, described, ii. 177.

Salvian, his account of the diffress and rebellion of the Bagaudæ, VI. 144. note.

Samanides, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 81.

Samaritans,

Samaritans, perfecution and extinction of, by the Emperor Justinian, viii. 323.

Samuel the Prophet, his ashes conveyed to Constantinople, v. 125, 126. Sapor, King of Persia, procures the assassing of Armenia, and seizes the country, i. 435. Defeats the Emperor Valerian, and takes him prisoner, 436. Sets up Cyriades as successor to Valerian in the Roman empire, 437. Over-runs Syria,

Cilicia, and Cappadocia, 438. His death, ii. 41.

Sapor, the fon of Hormoux, is crowned King of Persia before his birth, iii. 135. His character and early heroism, 136. Harasses the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, 139. Battle of Singara against the Emperor Constantius, 140. His son brutally killed by Constantius, 142. His several attempts on Nisibis, ibid. Concludes a truce with Constantius, 145. His haughty propositions to Constantius, 201. Invades Mesopotamia, 204. Reduces Amida, 208. Returns home, 210. His peaceful overtures to the Emperor Julian, iv. 143. His consternation at the successes of Julian, 186. Harasses the retreat of the Romans, 194. His treaty with the Emperor Jovian, 209. His reduction of Armenia, and death, 311. 315.

Saracen, various definitions of that appellation, ix. 233. note.

Saracens, fuccessions of the caliphs of, ix. 332. Their rapid conquests, 361. Conquest of Persia, 372. Siege of Damascus, 385. Battle of Yermuk, and conquest of Syria, 406. Of Egypt, 425. Invasions of Africa, 448. Their military character, x. 144.

Sarbar, the Perfian General, joins the Avars in befieging Conftantinople, viii. 243. Revolts to the Emperor Heraclius, 247.

Sardinia, expulsion of the Vandals from, by Marcellinus, vi. 200. Is conquered by Zano, the brother of Gelimer King of the Vandals,

viii. 181. Is furrendered to Belifarius, 186.

Sarmatians, memorable defeat of, by the Emperor Carus, ii. 93. Their manners described, iii. 119. Brief history of, 122. They apply to Constantine the Great for affishance against the Goths, 123. Are expelled their country by the Limigantes, 126. Are restored by Constantius, 200.

Savage manners, a brief view of, i. 356. Are more uniform than those

of civilized nations, iii. 341.

Sarus, the Goth, plunders the camp of Stilicho, and drives him into the hands of the Emperor at Ravenna, v. 242. Infults Alaric, and occasions the facking of Rome, 310. Is killed by Adolphus King of the Visigoths, 348, 349.

of the Vifigoths, 348, 349.

Saturninus, one of the competitors for empire against Gallienus, his

observation on his investiture, i. 448.

Saturninus, lieutenant under the Emperor Probus in the Eaft, is driven

into rebellion by his troops, ii. 86.

Saxons, ancient, an account of, iv. 286. Their piratical confederations, 288. Their invafions of Gaul checked by the Romans, 290. How converted to Christianity, vi. 272. Descent of the Saxons on Britain, 381. Their brutal desolation of the country, 392.

Scanderberg,

Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, his history, xii. 168. Scatinian law of the Romans, account of, viii. 100.

Scaurus, the patrician family of, how reduced under the Emperors, iii. 40. note.

Schism in religion, the origin of, traced, ii. 284.

Science reducible to four classes, x. 45.

Sclavonians, their national character, vii. 278. Their barbarous inroads on the Eastern empire, 283. Of Dalmatia, account of, x. 198.

Scots and Picts, the nations of, how diffinguished, iv. 292, 293. In-

vafions of Britain by, 295.

Scythians, this name vaguely applied to mixed tribes of Barbarians, i. 432. Their pastoral manners, iv. 341. Extent and boundaries of Scythia, 355. Revolutions of, v. 210. Their mode of war, vi. 53.

Sebastian, master-general of the infantry under the Emperor Valens, his successful expedition against the Goths, iv. 405. Is killed in

the battle of Hadrianople, 411.

Sebastian, the brother of the usurper Jovinus, is affociated with him in his assumed Imperial dignities, v. 348.

Sebastrocrator, import of that title in the Greek empire, x. 119. Seez, in Normandy, the Bishop and Chapter of, all castrated, xii. 265.

Segestian, the Princes of, support their independency obstinately against Artaxerxes, i. 330. note.

Segued, Emperor of Abyffinia, is with his whole court converted by the Jefuits, viii. 373.

Selden, his fententious character of transubstantiation, ix. 112. note. Selucia, the great city of, ruined by the Romans, i. 333.

Seleucus Nicator, number of cities founded by him, i. 329. note. Seljuk, Turkisk dynasty of the house of, x. 344. Division of their

empire, 368.

Serjeant, legal and military import of that term, xi. 211. note.

Severus Septimius, General of the Pannonian legions, assumes the purple on the death of Pertinax, i. 181. His conduct towards the Chris-

tians, ii. 447.

Senate of Rome is reformed by Augustus, i. 97. Its legislative and judicial powers, 109. Abortive attempt of, to resume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 116. Its legal jurisdiction over the Emperors, 160. Is subjected to military despotism, by Severus, 201. Women excluded from this affembly by a solemn law, 242. The form of a secret meeting, 287. Measures taken to support the authority of the two Gordians, 288. The senate elect Maximus and Balbinus Emperors on the deaths of the Gordians, 290. They drive the Alemanni out of Italy, 418. The senators forbid to exercise military employments by Gallienus, 419. Elect Tacitus, the father of the senate, Emperor, ii. 63. Prerogatives gained to the senate, by this election, 65. Their power and authority annihilated by Diocletian, 160.

Senate, amount of the coronary gold, or customary free gift of, to the Emperors, iii. o6. The claim of Julian to the empire admitted.

----. Petitions of, to the Emperors, for the restoration of the altar of victory, v. o6. The Pagan religion renounced, 100. Debates of, on the propofals of Alaric the Goth, 236. Genealogy of the fenators, 257. Paffes a decree for putting to death Serena the widow of Stilicho, 290. Under the influence of Alaric, elects Attalus Emperor, 305. Trial of Arvandus, a Prætorian præfect of Gaul, vi. 208. Surrenders the fovereign power of Italy to the Emperor of the East, 227.

-, Extinction of that illustrious assembly, vii. 280.

- Restoration of, in the twelfth century, xii. 277. The affembly resolved into fingle magistrates, 285.

Seration. his lamentation for the loss of a personified deity, viii. 269. Serapis, history of his worship, and of his temple at Alexandria,

v. 108. The temple destroyed, 111.

Serena, niece of the Emperor Theodofius, married to his general Stilicho, v. 152. Is cruelly strangled by order of the Roman fenate, 200.

Severinus, St., encourages Odoacer to assume the dominion of Italy, vi. 225. His body, how disposed of, 231. note.

Severus is declared Cæfar on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, ii. 180. His defeat and death, 202.

Severus is appointed general of the cavalry in Gaul under Julian,

Shepherds and warriors, their respective modes of life compared, iv. 342, 343.

Shiites, a fect of Mahometans, their distinction from the Sonnites, xi. 334.

Siberia, extreme coldness of the climate, and miserable state of the natives of, iv. 359. Is feized and occupied by the Tartars, xi. 423.

Sicily, reflections on the distractions in that island, i. 451. Is conquered by the Saracens, x. 59. Introduction of the filk manufacture there, 110. Exploits of the Normans there, 260. Is conquered by Count Roger, 281. Roger, fon of the former, made King of, 308. Reign of William the Bad, 324. Reign of William the Good, 326. Conquest of, by the Emperor Henry VI. 329. Is subdued by Charles of Anjou, xi. 338. The Sicilian Vespers, 344.

Sidonius Apollinaris the poet, his humorous treatment of the capitation tax, iii. 90. His character of Theodoric King of the Vifigoths in Gaul, vi. 158. His panegyric on the Emperor Avitus, 164.

His panegyric on the Emperor Anthemius, 195.

Sigifmond, King of the Burgundians, murders his fon, and is canonifed, vi. 228. Is overwhelmed by an army of Franks, 329.

Silentiarius, Paul, his account of the various species of stone and marble employed in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, vii. 120. note.

Silk,

Silk, first manufactured in China, and then in the small Grecian island of Ceos, vii. 90. A peculiar kind of filk procured from the pinna marina, 92. The filk-worm, how introduced to Greece, 97. Progress of the manufacture of, in the tenth century, x. 110. Simeon, profecutor of the Paulicians, becomes a profelyte to their opinions, x. 175.

Simeon, King of Bulgaria, his exploits, x. 200.

Simeon Stylites, the hermit, his extraordinary mode of life, vi. 265.

Simony, an early instance of, ii. 455. note.

Simplicius, one of the last furviving Pagan philosophers of Athens, his writings, and character, vii. 151. 152.

Singara, battle of, between the Emperor Constantius, and Sapor King of Persia, iii. 140. The city of, reduced by Sapor, 210. yielded to him by Jovian, iv. 211.

Singeric, brother of Sarus, is made King of the Goths, v. 354. Singidunum is perfidiously taken by Baian Chagan of the Avars,

vili. 197.

Sirmium is perfidiously taken by Baian Chagan of the Avars, viii. 197. Siroes deposes and murders his father Chosroes II. King of Persia, viii. 253. His treaty of peace with the Emperor Heraclius, 255.

Sisebut, a Gothic King of Spain, persecutes the Jews there, vi. 303. Sintus V., Pope, character of his administration, xii. 392.

Slave, strange perversion of the original sense of that appellation, x. 197.

Slaves, among the Romans, who, and their condition described,

Slavery, personal, imposed on captives by the barbarous nations,

Sleepers, feven, narrative of the legendary tale of, vi. 32.

Smyrna, capture of, by Tamerlane, xii. 29.

Society, philosophical, reflections on the revolutions of, vi. 417.

Soffarides, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 80.

Soldiers, Roman, their obligations and discipline, i. 15. When they first received regular pay, 256.

Soliman, Sultan, conquers Afia Minor, x. 371. Fixes his refidence at Nice, 373. Nice taken by the first crusaders, xi. 58. Battle of Dorylæum, 60.

Soliman, the fon of Bajazet, his character, xii. 49. His alliance with

the Greek Emperor Manuel Palæologus, 54.

Solomon, King of the Jews, not the author of the book which bears the name of his Wifdom, iii. 316. Reasons for supposing he did not write either the book of Ecclefiastes or the Proverbs, vii. 195. note.

Solomon the eunuch relieves the Roman province in Africa from the depredations of the Moors, vii. 200. Revolt of his troops at Carthage, 348. Is defeated and killed by Antalus the Moor, 352. Solyman, Caliph of the Saracens, undertakes the fiege of Constan-

LL 2

tinople, x. 8. His enormous appetite, and death, 11.

Sannites,

Sonnites, in the Mahometan religion, their tenets, ix. 334. Sopator, a Syrian philosopher, beheaded by Constantine the Great, on

a charge of binding the wind by magic, iii. 364. note.

Sophia, the widow of Justin II. her conspiracy against the Emperor Tiberius, viii. 137.

Sophia, St., foundation of the church of, at Constantinople, vii. 116. Its description, 118. Is converted into a mosch, xii. 240.

Sophian, the Arab, commands the first siege of Constantinople, x. 3. Sophrenia, a Roman matron, kills herfelf to escape the violence of Maxentius, ii. 217. note.

Sortes Sanctorum, a mode of Christian divination, adopted from the

Pagans, vi. 333. note.

Soul, uncertain opinions of the ancient philosophers as to the immortality of, ii. 204. This doctrine more generally received among the barbarous nations, and for what reason, 298. Was not taught by Moles, ibid. Four different prevailing doctrines as to the origin of, viii. 264. note.

Sozopetra destroyed by the Greek Emperor Theophilus, x. 67. Spain, the province of, described, i. 30. Great revenues raised from

this province by the Romans, 258. Is ravaged by the Franks,

--- Review of the history of, v. 350. Is invaded by the barbarous nations, 352. The invaders conquered by Wallia, King of the Goths, 357. Successes of the Vandals there, vi. 12. Expedition of Theodoric King of the Visigoths into, 161. The Christian religion received there, 296. Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild, 297, 298. Persecution of the Jews in, 302. Legislative affemblies of, 375.

-, State of, under the Emperor Charlemagne, ix. 181. First introduction of the Arabs into the country, 467. Defeat and death of Roderic the Gothic King of, 474. Conquest of, by Musa, 478. Its prosperity under the Saracens, 486. The Christian faith there, Supplanted by that of Mahomet, 387. The throne of Cordova filled by Abdalrahman, 34.

Stadium, Olympic, the races of, compared with those in the Roman

circus, vii. 75.

Stauracius, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 35-

Stephen, a freed-man of Domitilla, affaffinates the Emperor Domitian, Stephen, Count of Chartres, his character, and engagement in the first

crusade, xi. 32. Deserts his standard, 72.

Stephen, St., the first Christian martyr, miraculous discovery of his body, and the miracles worked by it, v. 128.

Stephen the Savage, fent by the Greek Emperor Justinian II. to exterminate the Cherlonites, ix. 22.

Stephen III., Pope, solicits the aid of Pepin King of France, against the Lombards, under the character of St. Peter, ix. 48. Crowns King Pepin, 152.

Stilicho.

Stilicho, the great General of the Western empire under the Emperor Honorius, his character, v. 150. Puts to death Rusinus the tyrannical præsect of the East, 157. His expedition against Alaric in Greece, 184. His diligent endeavours to check his progress in Italy, 194. Defeats Alaric at Pollentia, 199. Drives him out of Italy, 203. His triumph at Rome, 204. His preparations to oppose the invasion of Radagaisus, 215. Reduces and puts him to death, 220. Supports the claim of Alaric in the Roman senate, 236. Is put to death at Ravenna, 243. His memory persecuted, 244.

Stona heads the revolted troops of the Emperor Justinian in Africa,

vii. 349.

Strasburg, battle of, between Julian and the Alemanni, iii. 223. Successianus defends the Roman frontier against the Goths, i. 424.

Suevi, the origin and renown of, i. 416.
Suicide applauded and pitied by the Romans, viii. 107, 108.

Sulpicius, Servius, was the highest improver of the Roman jurisprudence, viii. 25.

Sultan, origin and import of this title of Eastern fovereignty,

х. 335.

Sumnat, description of the Pagoda of, in Guzarat, and its destruc-

tion by Sultan Mahmud, x. 337.

Sun, the worship of, introduced at Rome by the Emperor Elagabalus, i. 233. Was the peculiar object of the devotion of Constantine the Great, before his conversion, iii. 242. And of Julian after his apostacy, iv. 85.

Susa, the city of, taken by Constantine the Great, ii. 224.

Swatoslaus, Czar of Russia, his reign, x. 233.

Swifs Cantons, the confederacy of, how far fimilar to that of the ancient Franks, i. 414.

Sword of Mars, the facred weapon of the Huns, history of, vi. 43. Syagrius, King of the Franks and Burgundians, his character, vi. 312. Is conquered by Clovis, 314.

Sylla the Dictator, his legislative character, viii. 96.

Syllanus the Conful, his speech to the senate, recommending the election of the two Gordians to their approbation, i. 287.

Sylvania, fifter of the Præfect Rufinus, her uncommon fanctity, v. 159. note.

Sylvanus, General in Gaul under Conftantius, is ruined by treachery, iii. 190.

Sylverius, Pope, is degraded and fent into exile by Belifarius for an attempt to betray the city of Rome to the Goths, vii. 239. His death, 357. note.

Symmachus, his account of the Pagan conformity of the Emperor Conftantius, during his vifit to Rome, iii. 409. Pleads in behalf of the ancient Pagan religion of Rome, to the Emperor Valentinian, v. 96.

Synefius, Bishop of Ptolemais, excommunicates the President Andronicus,

nicus, iii. 200. His extraordinary character, ibid. note. His advice to the Eastern Emperor Arcadius, v. 187.

Synods, provincial, in the primitive churches, institution of, ii. 334.

Nature of those assemblies, iii. 303. See Councils.

Syria, its revolutions and extent, i. 39. Is reduced by Chofroes II. King of Persia, viii. 219. General description of, ix. 402. Is conquered by the Saracens, 406. Invation of, by Tamerlane, xii. 20.

Syriac language, where spoken in the greatest purity, i. 335. note. Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, furprifes the city of Alexandria, and expels Athanasius the Primate of Egypt, iii. 379.

Tabari, the Arabian historian, account of his work, ix. 362. note. Tabenne, the island of, in Upper Thebais, is settled with monks, by Pachomius, vi. 243.

Table of emerald, in the Gothic treasury in Spain, account of, v. 337.

Tacitus, Emperor, his election and character, ii. 63.

Tacitus, the historian, his character of the principles of the Portico, i. 125. note. The intention of his Episodes, 315. His character as a historian, 344. His account of the ancient Germans, 352. His history, how preserved and transmitted down to us, ii. 62. note. His account of the perfecution of the Christians as the incendiaries of Rome, 404, 405.

Tadics of Leo and Constantine, character of, x. 98. Military cha-

racter of the Greeks, 140.

Tagina, battle of, between the eunuch Narfes, and Totila King of the Goths in Italy, vii. 385.

Taherites, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 80.

Tamerlane, his birth, reign, and conquests, xiii. 3. His letter to Bajazet, 17. His conference with the doctors of the law, at Aleppo, 22. Defeats and takes Bajazet prisoner, 28. How kept out of His triumph at Samarcand, 40. Dies on a march Europe, 37. to China, 42. His character, ibid.

Tancred the crusader, his character, xi. 35. His bold behaviour at

Constantinople, 51.

Terafius, fecretary to the Empress Irene, made Patriarch of Constantinople, ix. 164. Prefides at, and frames the decrees of, the fecond council of Nice, 165.

Tarik, the Arab, his descent on Spain, ix. 472. Defeats and kills Roderic the Gothic King of, 474. His difgrace, 480. 486.

Tarragona, the city of, almost destroyed by the Franks, i. 415.

Tartars. See Scythians. Tartary, Eastern, conquest of, by Tamerlane, xii. 9.

Tatian, and his fon Proculus, destroyed by the base arts of Rusinus, the confidential minister of the Emperor Theodosius, v. 141.

Taurus the conful, is banished by the tribunal of Chalcedon, iv. 48. Taxes,

Taxes, how the Roman citizens were exonerated from the burdens of, i. 256. Account of those instituted by Augustus, 261. How raised under Constantine the Great, and his successors, iii. 83.

Tayef, fiege of, by Mahomet, ix. 310.

Tetas, the laft King of the Goths, defeated and killed by the eunuch Narfes, vii. 389.

Telemachus, an Afiatic monk, loses his life at Rome, in an attempt to prevent the combat of the Gladiators, v. 206.

Temple of Jerusalem, burned, ii. 412. History of the Emperor Julian's attempt to restore it, iv. 103.

Temugin. See Zingis.

Tephrice is occupied and fortified by the Paulicians, x. 178.

Tertullian, his pious exultation in the expected damnation of all the Pagan world, ii. 307. Suggests desertion to Christian soldiers, 327. note. His suspicious account of two edicts of Tiberius and Marcus Antoninus, in favour of the Christians, 444.

Testaments, the Roman laws for regulating, viii. 77. Codicils, 80. Tetricus, assumes the empire in Gaul, at the initigation of Victoria, ii. 30. Betrays his legions into the hands of Aurelian, 31. Is led in triumph by Aurelian, 47.

Thabor, Mount, dispute concerning the light of, xi. 387.

Thanet, the island of, granted by Vortigern, as a settlement for his Saxon auxiliaries, vi. 382.

Theatrical entertainments of the Romans described, v. 284.

Thebean legion, the martyrdom of, apocryphal, ii. 463, 464. note.

Theft, the Roman laws relating to, viii. 88. 94. 98.

Themes, or military governments of the Greek empire, account of, x. 101.

Themistius the orator, his encomium on religious toleration, iv. 231.

Theodatus, his birth and elevation to the throne of Italy, vii. 210.

His difgraceful treaties with the Emperor Justinian, and revolt against them, 214. His deposition and death, 222.

Theodebert, King of the Franks in Austrasia, joins the Goths in the fiege and destruction of Milan, vii. 249. Invades Italy, 251. His

death, 252.

Theodemir, a Gothic Prince of Spain, copy of his treaty of fubmission to the Saracens, ix. 481.

Theodora, Empress, her birth, and early history, vii. 64. Her marriage with Justinian, 68. Her tyranny, 71. Her virtues, 73. Her death, 75. Her fortitude during the Nika sedition, 86. Account of her palace and gardens of Heræum, 124. Her pious concern for the conversion of Nubia, viii. 367.

Theodora, wife of the Greek Emperor Theophilus, her history, ix. 44.
Reftored the worship of images, 166. Provokes the Paulicians to

rebellion, x. 178.

Theodora, daughter of the Greek Emperor Constantine IX., her hiftory, ix. 70.

Theodora, widow of Baldwin III. King of Jerusalem, her adventures as the concubine of Andronicus Comnenus, ix. 99.

LL 4 Theodors

Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, seizes Peter of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, prisoner, xi. 269. Possesses himself of Thessalonica, 271.

Theodoric acquires the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his brother Torismond, vi. 158. His character by Sidonius, ibid. His expe-

dition into Spain, 161.

Theodoric, the fon of Alaric, his profperous reign over the Vifigoths in Gaul, vi. 94. Unhappy fates of his daughters, 97. Is prevailed on by Ælius to join his forces against Attila, 111. Is killed at the

battle of Chalons, 117.

Theodoric the Oftrogoth, his birth and education, vii. 2. Is forced by his troops into a revolt against the Emperor Zeno, 7. He undertakes the conquest of Italy, 11. Reduces and kills Odoacer, 15. Is acknowledged King of Italy, 16. Review of his administration, 17. His visit to Rome, and care of the public buildings, 30. His religion, 36. His remorfe, and death, 50.

Theodosiopolis, the city of, in Armenia, built, v. 429.

Theodofius the Great, his distinction between a Roman Prince and a Parthian Monarch, iii. 98. note. The province of Mæsia preserved by his valour, iv. 331. Is associated by Gratian as Emperor of the East, 422. His birth and character, ibid. His prudent and successful conduct of the Gothic war, 429. Defeats an invasion of the

Ostrogoths, 435.

, his treaty with Maximus, v. xii. His baptifm and edict to establish orthodox saith, 14. Purges the city of Constantinople from Arianism, 22. Enforces the Nicene doctrine throughout the East, 24. Convenes a Council at Constantinople, 26. His edicts against herefy, 31. Receives the fugitive family of Valentinian, and marries his fifter Galla, 51. Defeats Maximus, and visits Rome, 53. His character, 55. His lenity to the city of Antioch, 62. His cruel treatment of Thessalonica, 65. Submits to the penance imposed by St. Ambrose, for his severity to Thessalonica, 70. Restores Valentinian, 73. Consults John of Lycopolis, the hermit, on the intended war against Eugenius, 79. Defeats Eugenius, 84. His death, 85. Procured a senatorial renunciation of the Pagan religion, 100. Abolishes Pagan rites, 103. Prohibits the Pagan religion, 116.

heedosius the Younger, his birth, v. 411. Is faid to be left by his father Arcadius to the care of Jezdegerd King of Persia, 413. His education and character, 418. His marriage with Eudocia, 421. His war with Persia, 426. His pious joy on the death of John, the usurper of the West, vi. 5. His treaty with the Huns, 39. His armies defeated by Attila, 52. Is reduced to accept a peace dictated by Attila, 60. Is oppressed by the embassies of Attila, 65. Embassy of Maximin to Attila, 68. Is privy to a scheme for the assassing of Attila, 81. Attila's embassy to

him on that occasion, 82. His death, 84.

, his perplexity at the religious feuds between Cyril and Nestorius, vii. 293. Banishes Nestorius, 297.

Theodofius

Theodofius III., Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 24.

Theodofius, the father of the Emperor, his successful expedition to Britain, iv. 298. Supreffes the revolt of Firmus the Moor, in

Africa, 306. Is beheaded at Carthage, 308.

Theodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria, his competition with Gaian, how decided, viii. 361. His negociations at the court of Byzantium, 364.

Theodofius, the deacon, grandfon of the Emperor Heraclius, murdered

by his brother Constans II., ix. 14.

Theodosius, the lover of Antonina, detected by Belisarius. vii. 262. Turns monk to escape her, 264. His death, 266.

Theodofius, prefident of the council of Hierapolis under Constantius, his ridiculous flattery to that Emperor, iv. 32.

Theophano, wife of the Greek Emperor Romanus II., poisons both him and his father, ix. 62. Her connexion with Nicephorus Phocas, 63. His murder and her exile, 65, 66.

Theophilus, Emperor of Constantinople, ix. 41. His Amorian war

with the Caliph Motaffem, x. 67.

Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, destroys the temple of Serapis, and the Alexandrian library, v. 111. Affifts the perfecution of St. Chrysostom, 404. His invective against him, 409. note.

Theophilus, his pious embaffy from the Emperor Constantius to the East

Indies, in. 279.

Theophobus, the Persian, his unfortunate history, ix. 43.

Therapeuta, or Essenians, some account of, ii. 362.

Thermopyla, the Straits of, fortified by the Emperor Justinian, vii. 27. Thessalonica, sedition and massacre there, v. 64. Cruel treatment of the citizens, 65. Penance of Theodosius for this severity, 70.

Theudelinda, Princess of Bavaria, married to Authoris King of the

Lombards, vii. 154, 155.

Thibaut, Count of Champagne, engages in the fourth crufade, xi. 180. Thomas the Cappadocian, his revolt against the Greek Emperor Michael II. and cruel punishment, ix. 40.

Thomas of Damascus, his exploits against the Saracens when besieging

that city, ix. 392.

Thomas, St., account of the Christians of, in India, viii. 346. Perfe-

cution of, by the Portuguele, 347.

Thrace, is colonised by the Bastarnæ, in the reign of Probus, ii. 84. The fugitive Goths permitted to fettle there by the Emperor Valens, iv. 381. Is ravaged by them, 391. The Goths fettled there by Theodofius, 438.

Thrasimund, King of the Vandals, his character, vi. 281:

Three Chapters, the famous dispute concerning, viii. 325.
Thundering Legion, the story concerning, of suspicious veracity, ii. 446.

Tiberius is adopted by Augustus, i. 119. Reduces the Pannonians, 180. Reduces Cappadocia, 263. note. Suspicious story of his edict in favour of the Christians, ii. 444.

Tiberius

Tiberius is invested by Justin II. as his successor in the empire of the East, viii. 135. His character and death, 138, 139.

Timafius, Mafter-general of the army under the Emperor Theodofius, is difgraced and exiled under Arcadius, v. 381.

Timothy the Cat, conspires the murder of Proterius Archbishop of Alexandria, and succeeds him, viii. 310.

Tipafa, miraculous gift of speech bestowed on the Catholics, whose

tongues had been cut out there, vi. 293, 294.

Tiridates, King of Armenia, his character, and history, ii. 138. Is reflored to his kingdom by Diocletian, 140. Is expelled by the Persians, 144. Is reflored again by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 154. His conversion to Christianity, and death, iii. 137.

Titus admitted to share the Imperial dignity with his father Vespasian,

1. 119.

Togrul Beg, Sultan of the Turks, his reign and character, x. 345. He rescues the Caliph of Bagdad from his enemies, 349.

Toledo taken by the Arabs under Tarik, ix. 475.

Toleration, universal, its happy effects in the Roman empire, i. 46. What sects the most intolerant, 328. note.

Tollius, objections to his account of the vision of Antigonus, iii. 262.

Torifmond, fon of Theodoric, King of the Vifigoths, attends his father against Attila King of the Huns, vi. 111. Battle of Chalons, 116. Is acknowledged King on the death of his father in the field, 119. Is killed by his brother Theodoric, 158.

Torture, how admitted in the criminal law of the Romans under the

Emperors, iii. 79.

Totila is elected King of Italy by the Goths, vii. 355. His justice and moderation, 358. Befieges and takes the city of Rome, 362. Is induced to spare Rome from destruction, at the instance of Belifarius, 369. Takes Rome again, 376. Plunders Sicily, 377. Battle of Tagina, 385. His death, 387.

Toulunides, the Saracen dynasty of, x. 82.

Tournaments preferable exhibitions to the Olympic games, xi. 39.

Tours, battle of, between Charles Martel and the Saracens, x. 25.

Toxandria, in Germany, is over-run and occupied by the Franks, iii. 214.

Traditors, in the primitive church, who, ii. 474.

Trajan, Emperor, his conquest of Dacia, i. 8. His conquests in the East, 9. Contrast between the characters of him and Hadrian, 12. His pillar described, 76. Why adopted by the Emperor Nerva, 123. His instructions to Pliny the Younger for his conduct toward the Christians, ii. 418. Description of his famous bridge over the Danube, vii. 125. note.

Trajan, Count, his treacherous murder of Pera King of Armenia,

iv. 319.

Transubstantiation, the doctrine of, when established, xi. 152.

Trebizond, the city of, taken and plundered by the Goths, i. 425. The

Dukes

Dukes of, become independent on the Greek empire, xi. 254. vielded to the Turks, xii. 249.

Tribigild the Oftrogoth, his rebellion in Phrygia against the Emperor Arcadius, v. 386.

Tribune, the office of, explained, i. 105.

Tribonian, his genius and character, viii. 34. Is employed by Justi-

nian to reform the code of Roman laws, 37.

Trinity, the mysterious doctrine of, iii. 320. Is violently agitated in the schools of Alexandria, 327. Three systems of, 329. Decisions of the council of Nice concerning, 334. Different forms of the doxology, 388. Frauds used to support the doctrine of, vi. 290.

Tripoli, the confederacy of, cruelly oppressed under the government

of Count Romanus, iv. 301.

Trisagion, religious war concerning, viii. 314.

Troops, Roman, their discipline, i. 15. When they first received pay, 256. Cause of the difficulty in levying them, iii. 64. See Jovians, Palatines, and Pratorian bands.

Troy, the fituation of that city, and of the Grecian camp of befiegers,

described, iii. 10.

Turin, battle of, between Constantine the Great and the lieutenants of Maxentius, ii. 225.

Turifand, King of the Gepidæ, his honourable reception of Alboin the Lombard, who had flain his fon in battle, viii. 117, 118.

Turks, their origin, vii. 284. Their primitive institutions, 287. Their conquests, 288. Their alliance with the Emperor Justinian, 294.

Send auxiliaries to Heraclius, viii. 246.

-, Grow powerful and licentious under the Saracens, x. 72. Terror excited by their menacing Europe, 203. Their military cha-They extend themselves over Asia, 333. Reign of racter, 208. Mahmud the Gaznevide, 334. Their manners and emigration, 340. They fubdue Persia, 344. Dynasty of the Seljukians, ibid. They invade the provinces of the Greek empire, 351. Reformation of the Eastern calendar, 366. They conquer Asia Minor, 370.

-, their capital city, Nice, taken by the crusaders, xi. 57. feat of government removed to Iconium, 104. Valour and conquests of Zenghi, 121. Character of Sultan Noureddin, 122. Conquest of Egypt, 125. Origin and history of the Ottomans, Their first passage into Europe, 438. Their education and discipline, xii. 58. Embassy from, to the Emperor Sigismond, ox.

Take the city of Constantinople, 232.

Turpin, the romance of, by whom, and when written, xi. 7. note. Twelve Tables, review of the laws of, viii. 6. Their feverity, 90. How the criminal code of, funk into difuse, 93.

Tyrants of Rome, the popular conceit of the thirty investigated,

1. 444.

Tyre is befieged by Saladin, xi. 140.

Tythes affigned to the clergy as well by Zoroafter as by Moses, i. 326. note. Were first granted to the church by Charlemagne, ix. 178.

Vadomair, Prince of the Alemanni, is fent prisoner to Spain by the Emperor Julian, iv. 18. His son murdered by the Romans, 281. Valens, General of the Illyrian frontier, receives the title of Cæsar

from Licinius, ii. 247. Loses his new title and his life, 249.

Valens, the brother of the Emperor Valentinian, is affociated with him in the empire, iv. 240. Obtains from his brother the Eastern portion of the empire, 242. His timidity on the revolt of Procopius, 248. His character, 255, 256. Is baptifed by Eudoxus, and patronifes the Arians, 265. Is vindicated from the charge of perfecution, 267. His edict against the Egyptian monks, 271. His war with the Goths, 323. Receives the suppliant Goths into the Roman territories, 381. His war with them, 394. Is defeated and killed at the battle of Hadrianople, 408. 410. His eulogium by Libanius, 411.

Valens, the Arian Bishop of Mursa, his crafty pretension to divine

revelation, iii. 351.

Valentia, a new province in Britain, fettled by Theodosius, iv. 300. Valentinian I., his election to the empire, and character, iv. 236. Associates his brother Valens with him, 240. Divides the empire into the East and West, and retains the latter, 242. His cruelty, 256. His civil institutions, 259. His edicts to restrain the avarice of the clergy, 270. Chastiles the Alemanni, and fortises the Rhine, 282, 283. His expedition to Illyricum, and death, 331. Is vindicated from the charge of polygamy, 334.

Valentinian II. is invested with the Imperial ornaments in his mother's arms, on the death of his father, iv. 336. Is refused by St. Ambrose the privilege of a church for him and his mother Justina, on account of their Arian principles, v. 40. His slight from the invasion of Maximus, 48. Is restored by the Emperor Theodosius,

73. His character, 74. His death, 76.

Valentinian III. is established Emperor of the West, by his cousin Theodosius the Younger, vi. 6. Is committed to the guardianship of his mother Placidia, 8. Flies, on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 130. Sends an embassy to Attila to purchase his retreat, 131. Murders the patrician Ætius, 139. Ravishes the wife of Petronius Maximus, 140. His death, and character, 141.

Valentinians, their confused ideas of the divinity of Jesus Christ, viii.

270. note.

Valeria, Empress, widow of Galerius, the unfortunate fates of her

and her mother, ii. 240.

Valerian is elected censor under the Emperor Decius, i. 400. His elevation to the empire, and his character, 410. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Sapor King of Persia, 436. His treatment, 441. His inconsistent behaviour toward the Christians, ii. 453.

Vandals. See Goths.

their fucceffes in Spain, vi. 12. Their expedition into Africa under Genferic, 14. They raife a naval force and invade Italy, 147.

Sack of Rome, 151. Their naval depredations on the coasts of the Mediterranean, 187. Their conversion to the Christian religion, 271. Persecution of the Catholics, 280.

Vandals, expedition of Belifarius against Gelimer, vii. 167. Conquest of, 186. Their name and diffinction loft in Africa, 196. Remains of their nation still found in Germany, 198.

Varanes. See Bahram.

Varangians of the North, origin and history of, x. 221.

Varronian, the infant fon of the Emperor Jovian, his history, iv. 234. Vataces, John, his long and prosperous reign at Nice, xi. 271. 282.

Vegetius, his remarks on the degeneracy of the Roman discipline at the time of Theodofius the Great, v. 89.

Veii, the fiege of that city, the zera of the Roman army first receiving

regular pay, i. 255.

Venice, foundation of that republic, vi. 126. Its infant flate under the Exarchs of Ravenna, viii. 146. Its growth and prosperity at the time of the fourth crusade, xi. 191. Alliance with France, Divides the Greek empire with the French, 243.

Veratius, his mode of obeying the law of the twelve tables respecting

personal insults, viii. 89. Verina, Empress, the widow of Leo, deposes Zeno, vii. 5. Her tur-

Verona, fiege of, by Constantine the Great, ii. 226. Battle of, between Stilicho the Roman general, and Alaric the Goth, v. 203.

Verres, why his punishment was inadequate to his offences, viii. 96. Vespasian, his prudence in sharing the Imperial dignity with his son

Titus, i. 119. Vestals, Roman, their number and peculiar office, v. 93.

Vetranio, the Roman general in Illyricum, affumes the purple, and enters into an alliance with the Gaulish usurper Magnentius, iii. 150. Is reduced to abdicate his new dignity, 155.

Victoria exercises the government over the legions and province of

Victory, her statue and altar, in the senate-house at Rome, described, The fenate petitions the Christian emperors to have it rev. 95.

Vigilantius the presbyter, is abused by Jerom for opposing monkish

fuperstition, v. 126. note.

Vigilius, interpreter to the embaffy from Theodosius the Younger to Attila, is privy to a scheme for the assassination of Attila, vi. 68: Is detected by Attila, 81.

Vigilius purchases the papal chair of Belisarius and his wife, vii. 239-Instigates the Emperor Justinian to refume the conquest of Italy,

378. Vine, its progress, from the time of Homer, i. 85.

Virgil, his fourth ecloque interpreted into a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, iii. 270. Is the most ancient writer who mentions the manufacture of filk, vii. 91. Vitalian,

Vitalian, the Gothic chief, is treacherously murdered at Constantinople, vii. 58.

Vitalianus, Prætorian præfect under the Emperor Maximin, put to death by order of the fenate, i. 288.

Vitellius, Emperor, his character, i. 128.

Viligis, General of the Barbarians under Theodatus King of Italy, is by his troops declared King of Italy, vii. 222. He besieges Belisarius in Rome, 224. Is forced to raise the siege, 246. He is besieged by Belisarius in Ravenna, 253. Is taken prisoner in Ravenna, 257. Conforms to the Athanafian faith, and is honourably fettled in Afia, 258. His embaffy to Chofroes King of Perfia,

Vitruvius the architect, his remarks on the buildings of Rome,

Vizir, derivation of that appellation, ix. 284. note.

Ukraine, description of that country, i. 396.

Uldin, King of the Huns, reduces and kills Gainas the Goth, v. 397. Is driven back by the vigilance of the Imperial ministers, 415. Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths, his pious labours, vi. 269. Pro-

pagated Arianism, 278.

Ulpian, the lawyer, placed at the head of the council of state, under the Emperor Alexander Severus, i. 234. Is murdered by the prætorian guards, 249.

Vocanian law abolished the right of female inheritance, viii. 76. How

evaded, 82.

Voltaire prefers the labarum of Constantine to the angel of Licinius, iii. 261. note. His reflections on the expences of a fiege, vi. 416.

Vortigern, King of South Britain, his invitation of the Saxons for affiltance against his enemies, vi. 381.

Vouti, Emperor of China, his exploits against the Huns, iv. 364.

Upfal, anciently famous for its Gothic temple, i. 389.

Urban II., Pope, patronifes Peter the Hermit in his project for recovering the Holy Land, xi. 3. Exhorts the people to a crusade, at the council of Clermont, 10. Urban V., Pope, removes the papal court from Avignon to Rome,

xii. 365.

Urban VI., Pope, his disputed election, xii. 368.

Urfacius, master of the offices under the Emperor Valentinian, occafions a revolt of the Alemanni by his parfimony, iv. 277.

Ursicinus, a Roman general, his treacherous conduct to Sylvanus in Gaul, iii. 191. Is superseded in his command over the Eastern provinces, 211. Is fent back again to conduct the war with Persia under Sabinian, ibid. Is again difgraced, 212.

Urfini, history of the Roman family of, xii. 320.

Urfulus, treasurer of the empire under Constantius, unjustly put to death by the tribunal of Chalcedon, iv. 48.

Usury. See Interest of Money.

W

Walachians, the prefent, descendants from the Roman settlers in ancient Dacia, ii. 20. note.

Wales is fettled by British refugees from Saxon tyranny, vi. 388. 393. The bards of, 398.

Wallia, is chosen King of the Goths, v. 355. He reduces the barbarous invaders of Spain, 357. Is settled in Aquitain, 358.

War and robbery, their difference, ix. 236. Evolutions and military exercise of the Greeks, 141. Military character of the Saracens, 144. Of the Franks and Latins, 147.

Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, his literary character, iv. 104. note. His labours to establish the miraculous interruption to Julian's building the temple of Jerusalem, 106, 107. notes.

Warna, battle of, between the Sultan Amurath II. and Ladislaus, King of Hungary and Poland, xii. 161.

Werdan, the Greek General, defeated by the Saracens at Aiznadin, ix. 388.

Wheat, the average price of, under the fuccessors of Constantine the Great, iv. 146. note.

Whitaker, Mr., remarks on his account of the Irish descent of the Scottish nation, iv. 295. note.

White, Mr., Arabic professor at Oxford, character of his Sermons at .

Bampton's lecture, x. 23. note.

Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, his benevolent establishment at Selfey, vi. 396.

William I., the Bad, King of Sicily, x. 324. William II., the Good, King of Sicily, x. 326.

Windmills, the use of, from whence derived, xi. 290.

Wine, the use of, expressly prohibited by Mahomet, ix. 276.

Wisdom of Solomon, when, and by whom that book was written, iii. 316.

Wolodomir, great Prince of Russia, marries Anne, daughter of the Emperor Romanus, x. 133. His conversion to Christianity, 241. Women, in hereditary monarchies, allowed to exercise sovereignty, though incapable of subordinate state offices, i. 241. How treated

by the Roman civil laws, viii. 57. The Voconian law, how evaded, 82. Are not excluded from Paradise by Mahomet, ix. 281.

V

Xenophon, his description of the desert of Mesopotamia, iv. 163. Xerxes, the situation of his bridge of boats for passing over to Europe, pointed out, iii. 9.

Yermuk, battle of, between the Greeks and the Saracens, ix. 408. Yezdegerd, King of Persia, his reign the zera of the fall of the Saffanian dynasty, and of the religion of Zoroaster, ix. 365. Yezid, Caliph of the Saracens, ix. 342.

Zabergan,

7.

Zabergan, invades the Eastern empire with an army of Bulgarians, vii. 402. Is repulfed by Belifarius, 403.

Zachary, Pope, pronounces the deposition of Childeric, King of France, and the appointment of Pepin to succeed him, ix. 152.

Zano, brother of Gelimer the Vandal usurper, conquers Sardinia, vii. 181. Is recalled to affift his brother, 182. Is killed, 184.

Zana, a city on the Sclavonian coast, reduced by the crusaders for the republic of Venice, xi. 200.

Zenghi, Sultan, his valour and conquests, xi. 121.

Zeno, Emperor of the East, receives a surrender of the Imperial government of the Western empire, from the senate of Rome, vi. 227. The vicissitudes of his life and reign, vii. 4. His Henoticon, viii. 211.

Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, her character and history, ii. 32.

Zingis, first Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, parallel between him and Attila, King of the Huns, vi. 42. His proposal for improving his conquests in China, 54. His birth and early military exploits, xi. 402. His laws, 404. His invasion of China, 408. Carisme, Transoxiana, and Persia, 410. His death, 413.

Zizais, a noble Sarmatian, is made King of that nation by the Emperor

Constantius, iii. 200.

Zobeir, the Saracen, his bravery in the invation of Africa, ix. 451.

Zoe, first the concubine, becomes the fourth wife of the Emperor Leather philosopher. ix. 57.

the philosopher, ix. 57.

Zoe, wife of Romanus III. and Michael IV. Emperors, ix. 70.

Zoroaster, the Persian prophet, his high antiquity, i. 319. note.

Abridgment of his theology, 320, 321. Provides for the encouragement of agriculture, 324. Affigus tythes to the priests, 326. note.

Zosimus, his representation of the oppression of the lustral contribution.

Zuinglius, the Reformer, his conceptions of the Eucharift, x. 189. Zurich, brief history of that city, xii. 273.

THE END.

Strahan and Preffon, Printers-Street, London.